

**Resolving Conflicts Between Maxims:
A Developmental Account of
Narrative Text Production in Greek**

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Declaration

I declare that this thesis has been composed by myself, and that the research reported herein has been conducted by myself.

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28th September 1990

Abstract

The work in this thesis illustrates the system underlying narrative text production through a detailed description of the nature and working of the principles that give rise to age-related differences in textual style in Greek. The stated issue is addressed by tracing the way in which event connectivity is realized through the options that Greek language makes available to language producers, Greek schoolchildren (8, 10 and 12 years old) and adults.

The data consist of three types of material: a) narrative texts written by Greek schoolchildren and adults on the basis of picture-sequences and on free topics b) readers' responses and c) conversations with the children and their teachers used as a means of capturing their assumptions regarding language use.

Differences in text production are accounted for through a system, called "textual logic", consisting of a number of multiply-interacting first- and second-order pragmatic principles and maxims (including the Gricean maxims) whose operation and interaction represent the logic underlying specific text-building strategies. The crucial issue examined pertains to tensions in textual logic brought about by clashes between the postulated maxims. Conflicts between maxims are shown to be one of the most intricate areas of practical reasoning for much can be learnt about text acquisition processes by examining the way in which different age-groups weigh opposing requirements. The resolution of conflicts is described as a problem of decision-making during which the maxims in conflict are weighed not against each other but rather against second-order principles of a socio-culturally specific character. Tellability is proposed to be the highest principle that restores and guarantees the internal coherence of the system of textual logic in Greek.

It is within this framework that we trace children's increasing sensitivity to balance the demands of multiply-interacting maxims and to explore their available resources within the limits that socially-transmitted conventions (such as generic conventions) impose on them. The varying choice of principles is shown to lead to distinct communicative strategies and, ultimately, to age-specific textual styles.

The second part of the thesis deals with an different kind of question which does not necessarily belong to the field of Discourse Analysis proper but rather to the Philosophy of Discourse Analysis. It is an attempt to provide a justification of the proposed system of textual logic by securing the priority of certain principles over others within the Greek culture and demonstrating how the hierarchical relationships established among the principles of textual logic derive their potential from a universal and non-empirically provable principle, Rationality.

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Abbreviations

1,2,3:	1st, 2nd, 3rd person
D:	descriptive information
e:	event
f:	feminine
G:	goal
imp:	imperfective aspect
m:	masculine
pf:	perfect aspect
pl:	plural,
pr:	present tense
pst:	past tense
s:	singular,
S:	simultaneity (for two perfective events, mainly)
So:	Source
Z:	to denote absence of pause between utterances of different interlocutors
...	to indicate slight pause between consecutive utterances of the same interlocutor (oral texts only)

Bold type: to highlight forms under examination

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1. Introduction

This thesis is about storytelling values and language-related norms in Chalki, a rural community in Greece, revealed through the stories told and written by its members, schoolchildren and adults. Stories constitute a major part of the repertoire of the people in this community for expressing their selves and instructing others. Stories make clear how people construe their world, who they are and who they want to be. By subjecting oral and written narrative texts to detailed linguistic analyses and examining the points storytellers make (i.e. what children and adults tell stories about and how), basic truths are distilled regarding the use of language, the type of human relationships, the nature of the world for a Greek community. A "story" about the Greek world comes ultimately to be produced from Greek stories.

The values isolated are treated within a frame of reference which, although sensitive to the local value system (stories are, after all, conceptualizations of a concrete everyday reality), does incorporate the effects of macro-processes (i.e. national Greek identity) on how people in this local community conceive of themselves and how they communicate their reality to outsiders. In this way, the texts, although a part of Greek discourse- the latter would comprise data far too vast to be dealt with in a thesis- nevertheless stand as representative expressions of it.

The discussion builds on the interdependence of three realms:

COMMUNITY - a source of storytelling values

STORYWORLD - the social interactional event

TALEWORLD - the linguistic realization of reality

It has to be stressed that the distinction between the "storyworld" and the "taleworld" is not analogous to the distinction between "fabula" (events in the depicted world) and "sjuzhet" (the text units representing these events) which is found in literary criticism (for a discussion of these terms and relevant terminology, see also Reinhart, 1984). Literary criticism says nothing about natural storytelling by real people. In this work, the distinction between "storyworld" and "taleworld" is used to capture respectively the sociolinguistic aspects of storytelling (interactional level) and the organizational structure of stories as texts (ideational level). The necessity of drawing this distinction is based on the firm belief that stories cannot be examined apart from specific sociocultural contexts. It is only by treating stories as informational texts as well as interactional performances that we can capture the dynamics of storytelling in particular speech communities and situations, bring into surface the particular histories of tellers and tellings and, in doing so,

elucidate the subtleties of socioculturally-situated language use (for a similar point criticizing the complete absence of the sociocultural element in Polanyi's account of American storytelling, see Carbaugh (1990)).

The nature and interdependence of the three, above-mentioned realms is accounted for through a system, called "narrative textual logic",¹ consisting of a number of pragmatic principles (including the Gricean maxims restated in discourse-level terms), whose operation and interactions represent the logic underlying specific text strategies for conveying meaning. Intending to concentrate on culture as a learning process, I examine the way in which the constituent principles of textual logic are put to work by different age-groups. The hypothesis is that language use is the result of the coordinated application of a number of different maxims; it is the way in which these maxims are put to work by different narrators that gives rise to age- and culture-specific differences in language use and, in essence, creates what is called "textual style".

Along with this line of investigation, a meta-scientific issue arising from the above-mentioned inquiry is given consideration: the extent to which the study of textual logic by Discourse Analysts builds on a-priori, non-empirical assumptions and the extent to which it relies on empirical procedures. Building on the premise that narrative texts, tales and personal stories, are one direct route to capturing folk truths and values, the proposal is made that the set of maxims and principles through which textual logic is rendered explicate in a formal way ordinary people's atheoretical, intuitive and culture-specific views through which they make coherent sense of their world. Of course, not every one can carry out formalization. Formal descriptions result from analyses undertaken by Discourse Analysts who, by examining text processes, come essentially to delve into problems relating to socialization and the acquisition of social norms and, ultimately, to deal with issues of a non-empirical, normative character.

In writing this account, being both a Greek and a native of the community, I do not intend, or even think it justified, to separate myself from the narrative I give. The pursuit of scientific objectivity, while desirable in other fields, would only deprive the work from the common sense of the community I wish to convey through an examination of its storytelling patterns. The work in this thesis does not intend to get at the TRUTH. Truth is defined and expressed differently in different cultures.

The Argument Summarized

Criteria

Real-Life Validity

- Truth and meaning is culture-dependent.

Explanatory Power

- The basic aim of textual logic is to provide socially-situated explanations regarding the realization of meaning and identity through stories.

Basic Presumption: People are rational beings.

The Proposal

The theory proposed to account for narrative text production involves the following requirements:

- the need for a coherent system of empirically-derived first- and second-order principles and maxims which stand in various relations to each other
- The postulation of a higher principle up to which all other principles lead
- the derivation of this structure from the non-empirical principle of Rationality.

Just as the surface structure of a given sentence is generated by a set of operations at the deep structural level, textual style is postulated to emanate from deeper, second-order pragmatic principles which capture the specific way a certain society makes sense of the world through language (Holy (1987), Witherspoon (1977)). These principles which render the world sensible to people in a particular culture (insiders) and intelligible to others (outsiders) build up to a structure through which every society expresses its own individual form. To analyse textual style, I introduce a specific goal, patterns of event connectivity, and trace the way in which it is linguistically rendered across different age-groups (8, 10, 12 year-old children and adults) in Greek.

It is my hypothesis that storytelling within cultures is based on a single premise, a principle of common origin (for the Greek community examined here, this is the principle of Tellability); the latter is the repercussion of the pan-human principle of Rationality which gives consistency and coherence to the system of narrative textual logic and which, in itself, is axiomatic, unexplainable and unprovable. Although I do not assume that the core principle of Tellability has the same status in different cultures, I do propose that it may surface at some point within the structure of principles underlying storytelling in different cultures.

This thesis aims to uncover the structure of first- and second-order principles that underlie storytelling in Greek culture and give rise to further cross - cultural work testing the validity of these principles.

2. Organization of the Thesis

The above claims resulted from empirical work carried out on narrative texts and reported in the following chapters.

Chapter 1 presents the community and sketches the basic ingredients of the theory presented to capture the nature of narrative text production. Chapter 2 presents the methodology I use, delineating the basic assumptions guiding my approach to narrative production; it discusses methodological issues relating to the subjects who participated in the task, the materials used for the collection of the data, and the ways in which the texts were actually analysed. Chapter 3 presents the values underlying oral storytelling in Greek culture and introduces the structure of relationships between various principles. Chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7 which concentrate on written narrative texts, form the core of the thesis. Chapters 4 and 5 offer a detailed account of the processes leading language producers to the choice of specific forms as strategies to satisfy cohesion. Chapter 6 supplements the structure emerging from the above-mentioned discussion. By presenting a new range of factors (generic ones) and discussing the influence genre exerts on text structuring, the discussion integrates generic considerations (mainly a topic of interest to literary theorists) within linguistics proper into a single explanatory structure. Chapter 7 illustrates clashes between locally-valid and official, school-related systems of transmitting meaning.

The analyses undertaken so far give rise to a system of narrative textual logic consisting of a number of elementary maxims and second-order principles. Chapter 8 deals with a different kind of question not necessarily belonging to the field of Discourse Analysis; it is an attempt to provide a justification of the proposed system of narrative textual logic. This is essentially an attempt at a meta-analysis of the analyses presented so far. The aim is to situate language production in the wider perspective of human action subsuming all principles of textual logic under one overarching principle which accounts for all people's activities: Rationality.

The theoretical framework proposed may seem to people working with children (teachers mainly) as dry and overtechnical. Appendix I is an attempt to dispel any such possible criticisms by making clear the way in which the orientation developed in this thesis may inform teaching practice.

Chapter 1

The Theory of Narrative Textual Logic

1.1. The Sociocultural Element: The Community

Chalki is a community of 2500 people situated in the middle of Greece, in the province of Thessaly, district of Larisa (see appendix IVb) which comprises the most fertile plains in Greece. Chalki is not a place of touristic attraction, although the sea is only an hour's drive away. People are farmers; most of them are relatively well-off and a great number of them rich.

I will describe the community by specifying the way conflicts and tensions arise in everyday life and how they are resolved, using gender as a means to map and make sense of conflicts. The demarcation of physical boundaries into male-female spheres of activity is used for helping us make sense of social relationships: male and female space constitute a binary contrast through which social structures are reflected (Moore, 1986).

In general, life in the community is organized around certain central elements associated with privacy (houses) while at the same time public systems (squares, coffee-houses) bring individuals together. This pattern of organization relates to a value system which reflects conflicts and tensions between sexes: women belong to the house, men to the public.

For men, the context of activity is situated outside. The land is the male sphere of activity and is uniquely tied up with men's own perception of the world. The fields constitute the male area for display of ability and knowledge. Men identify themselves with their land because their pain and manual labour is reflected on it. Crops (wheat is the main product) become objects of male possession in a symbolic way and they are open to evaluation. For women, the context for action is the house. The arrangement, the furniture, the cleanliness of the house, the relationships with the in-laws are open to evaluation.

The physical boundaries of gender tended to be rigid. The roles were clearly-defined and delineated. Currently the community is witnessing changes, a product of changing social and economic conditions. Although there are still contexts for male-female activity, these are not rigid. Although men seem to have the control in decision-making, women exert considerable influence over the family affairs. In addition, although women's usual place of activity is the house, women play a major role in shaping the public face of the community. In this way, it is preferable to see male and female as categories expressing complementarity, unity and productivity in different domains. A major means revealing each gender's differential orientation to the world and documenting women's power in shaping the public domain is their attitude toward the use of language.

In the community, those above 50 speak only the dialect whereas the younger ones (around 20 to 30 years old) have access to both the dialect and the standard. Apart from differences in vocabulary, the most striking difference should be located in the pronunciation with the vowels "e" and "o" pronounced respectively as "i" and "u". When the same vowels appear in a word-final position, they are not pronounced at all. An interesting feature is the pronunciation of the definite article before a noun; in cases where the pattern "t + vowel + s" obtains, ("tis" "tus"), it is pronounced as "tsi", a feature through which one can easily identify the area of the speaker. From the syntactic point of view, the basic difference is the substitution of the case of the object of a transitive verb; the genitive case is substituted for the accusative, as in the following examples:

- (1) a. standard language:
 "tou eipa na **mou** thlefwnhsei" (I asked him to phone me)
- b. non-standard language:
 "tou eipa na **me** thlefwnhsei" (I asked him to phone me)

The different stance of women and men in relation to language is illustrated in the following table:

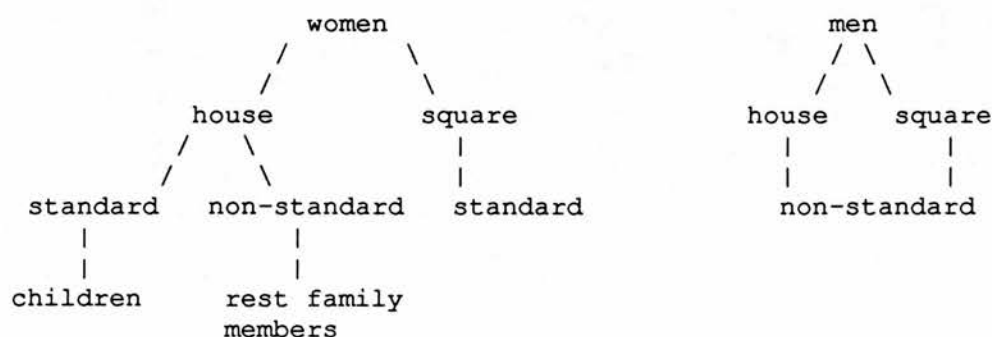


Table 1: Gender Differences in the Use of Language

This difference in stance toward language cannot be interpreted apart from the local value system: the use of standard versus dialect (apart from sex differentiation) creates boundaries, distinguishing and unifying speakers into specific groups and excluding outsiders from group membership. Two groups of people are distinguished in the community, the rich and the relatively well-off. The first group is a closed one in the sense that there are certain threshold conditions that must be satisfied before one enters it, the main one being the use of "proper" language. The great preoccupation with language is a means this group adopts to signal its differentiation from the rest people and it is particularly cultivated by women. At the same time since non-standard language is associated with inferiority, the gradual use of standard by the other group (especially women) is a means to claim higher status. Men, even those educated, when returning back to live in the community, retreat to the non-standard language because of their casual attitude to language and also as a means of identification and acceptance by the others (for a similar point and more examples, see Milroy (1980)).

The essence of life in Chalki, however, cannot be captured only through conflicts and power relationships. Conflicts are resolved and life carries on within a structure that renders the world coherent. And life for both women and men in Chalki in its various reflections relies on and acquires meaning (*simasia*) by building on one element: *meraki*. *Meraki* is best regarded as a poetic notion which encapsulates a specific stance toward life: a celebration of life in its various expressions, a celebration of self, the need for performance. Performance, usually limited to a mode of speaking, is exalted here to a form of living and acting. In the Thessalic village of Chalki, everyday experience stresses performative excellence. People celebrate excellence in many things: from the kind of clothes one wears to the type of house one has. People like to show off. When something fails to meet the appropriate standards, people claim that "*den ecei/leel tipota to idiaitero*" (s/he/it does not have/say anything different/anything of importance: it does not have meaning). The clothes, the house and the car acquire symbolic character; they are imbued with meaning for they are the means through which one leaves his/her impact on the community.

As a consequence, people constantly balance two conflicting requirements: being members of a group as well as being individuals versus being members of a group by being individuals. Each one grounds differently the use of speech and general behaviour and is projected and defined both through language (nicknames) and space (spatial contexts for performance).

Nicknames attest both individuality and membership in the community. Nicknames incorporate elements that make a person stand out of the crowd; whether capturing a difficulty in pronouncing a particular word, a striking pattern

(2) Achilleas: today she read aloud Georgia's (composition) about aeroplanes

Fillia: Georgia who?

Achilleas: Georgia Katigianni

Rina: isn't she a good pupil?

Baggelia: Papalaios'

Achilleas: a blonde girl don't you know her?

Thanassis: whose?

Baggelia: Papalaios' granddaughter

Rina: yours? has she read yours?

Thanassis: what do you say Papalaios' granddaughter Kostas' granddaughter

8

was a priest "papas" and his name was "Ilias"; the combination of the two gives the nickname).

On the spatial plane, individuality is realized through a paradoxical way: individuality is expressed through performance in certain contexts and privacy in others, whereas membership in the community requires continual need for performance. The house, the fields and the square, embodying these two requirements, have considerable force in people's lives. The house assures privacy, intimacy and individuality; the crossing of its boundary automatically brings one to a different sphere that stresses the need for performance. The further one goes away from the house, the greater the need for performance and the more people must struggle to display themselves; social interaction is constituted of strategies of self-foregrounding.

The celebration of self is carried through in every aspect of people's lives but there are certain bounded performance contexts within the community: outings in the square and attendance at the church. These are events where performance has top priority. Outings in the square, for instance, are not simple outings but actions that celebrate the self; they are events bestowed with *simasia*. In this bounded place (square), one cannot succeed in foregrounding his/her self unless s/he is an individual, i.e. in terms of clothing and behaviour, one should stand out of the crowd. The clothes are a medium and a message. It is only in this way that a person is noticed and his/her existence acquires meaning. The square resembles a catwalk with people (girls and women) walking up and down in front of the rest seated in outdoor cafes all of which face the catwalk.

The Public Domain

<i>square for formal outings</i>		<i>square for informal outings</i>	
cafes cafes cafes			
xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx		xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx	school
catwalk	church	catwalk	
xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx		xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx	

Table 2: The Public Domain in Chalki

The spatial organization of the public domain reflects and reinforces the local system of social interaction based on competition between the villagers, each of whom wants to claim a higher order. The type of square is a place and a message; in the square for formal outings, breach of the appropriate performance-based standards is heavily criticized.

The community's motto is best captured through its embodiment in language: "na'se korufh" (to be at the top) captures the essence of social interaction in this community. The spatial symbolism and in particular the idiom of location, "being at the top", express the yardstick by which villagers attribute success or failure (in other words, meaning) to individual actions.

1.1.1. Stories and Storytelling in a Greek Community: Reporting the Meaningful Event

It is in these contexts, house, square, school and fields, (private-public, female-male contexts of activity) that narrative comes into play; stories are the major means by which actions and experience in these contexts are segmented and given substance.

Stories reflect and give expression to the reality of the community by reproducing the events with meaning/simasia. As made clear, performance, is much more than a purely verbal notion. The verbal system is just one of the means that foregrounds the feature prominent in everyday life: contest over the significance of self. As such, being one in the crowd does not qualify as a source of storytelling. It is the crossing of boundaries, tangible and subtle, physical and non-physical, that acts as a reason for storytelling.

When women help in the fields (a male-dominated area), this would generate a story of praise. When women behave improperly in the square (a male-dominated space), this would give rise to a story of criticism; when men are involved in women's affairs (female space), this would generate a story of ridicule. These are the stories reaffirming sex differentiation and group alignment.

There are also the stories recounted in the village square that men bring home as simple and bald accounts of the events: "this and this and this happened". Their stories are predominantly about fields and crops. On the other hand, there are the stories told by women gathering in each other's houses; these tend to be rich and very elaborate accounts of people's actions and behaviour, undoubtedly interweaving reality and fantasy. Male and female stories are not opposites but complementary ways of making sense of the world. While male stories tend to affirm the coherence of the community, stressing the element perpetuating continuity and life (the land), female stories are the means of both capturing this coherence and understanding any discrepancy in it: people's behaviour as norm-breaking is the favourite subject of female talk and helps transfer the private life into public evaluation.

Understanding the dynamics of storytelling would thus require an examination of the structure of interpersonal relationships between the following groups of people:

- the people portrayed in the story- the taleworld
- the people casting the experience into story- the tale creators
- the people distributing the story- the distributors

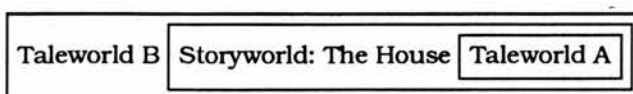
The tension between these systems of transmitting experience as well as their conflation is best captured in house-based storytelling. The swapping of stories reaffirms solidarity and camaraderie both between women and the groups they represent. The very act of socializing together and exchanging stories indicates group membership. The sharing of knowledge and the revelation of personal confidential details creates bonding and carries a metamessage. What is signalled is a mutual understanding at the existential level: we are compatible people, we share the same attitude towards the world; we are in the same boat.

Function of Oral Storytelling

Enacting a Division:
Us versus the Rest

The house is a context where the public meets the private element simultaneously enacting a differentiation between us (host) and them (visitors). The private versus public distinction is enacted on a different level. The act of entering a house has implications both of invasion of a foreign space and of rights to intimacy in a predominantly individual context. Entering a house without prior notice and finding a state of disarray would not in principle matter because the very act of visiting is a symbolic affirmation of one's intimacy with the host: "I understand because this might happen to me".

However, this is only the surface. Given the great preoccupation with performance in this community, when someone enters a house, woman's territory, the woman host is under social pressure for performance. The private territory of intimacy changes its meaning; it becomes a public place, a place where behaviour is observed and evaluated by the visitor: the place for performance. Women are under social pressure to perform, not simply to act since the storytelling situation may become a taleworld in another case: what happens during a visit to a house will form the taleworld for a story told during a visit to a different house, as follows:



Stories out of Stories: Sample Stories

The encapsulation of the community's ideas about performance, significance and foregrounding are clearly depicted in the following sample stories. The stories are taken from three consecutive letters written by a mother to a daughter when the latter was living abroad. Since these were indeed the only stories in the letters, their examination would give us a clear understanding of the criteria through which members of this community segment the flow of everyday reality into meaningful versus non-meaningful events: events with "simasia" (with interest-potential and, thus, in need for distributing) versus events which do not encapsulate anything different.

An Example of Story Creating

Example 3, an instance of a storyworld turned into a taleworld, refers to relatives and their private life. The characters, Gianna (50), Vaso (26 years old) and Manolis (11 years old), are the narrator's sister-in-law and niece and nephew respectively.

- (3) Cthes phga sth Gianna etsh bolta kathisa ligo htane kai
h Basw milhsame ligo alla diabaze to Manwlh (1)
thn wra pou efeuga sthn exwporta stamathse mia koursa.
Stasou leei h Gianna na hdhs to gampro ths Basws.
katebhke eipe ena geia kai phge epanw. Den me ekane
entupwsh leptos kontos. peripou san ton Cristo ths
Dhmhtras. isia me thn Basw einai sta cronía alla den
deicnei oute 20. (2a.)
ti douleia kanei rwthsa. ekane ta cartia mhpws mporesei
kai mpei sthn trapeza h se allh douleia twra bohthaei
sto magari souvlakia. bgazoun polla lefta leei h Gianna
alla thelei na phgainei se kamia thesh. akoma lefta na
mhn eice ta exoda pou tha ecei h Basw. (2b.)
pantws gia prwth fora pou ton eida den mou arese. otan
ton xanablepeis ton sunithizeis. tha diorthwsoun to
spiti kai isws arabwniastoun (3)
auta uper gamprou. Madoucen (4)

Yesterday I went to Gianna's house just for an outing I
stayed there for quite a while. Vaso was there too we
talked a little bit but she was helping Manoli with his
homework (1)

as I was leaving (I was) on the doorstep a car pulled
out. Hold on a minute Gianna says to see Vaso's
husband-to-be. He got out of the car said a hello and
went upstairs. I was not impressed thin short. he looks
like Christos of Dimitra. he is the same age with Vaso
but he doesn't look more than 20. (2a.)

what is he doing for a living I asked. he submitted his papers to get a place in a bank or anywhere else now he is helping his father in the kebab shop. they earn a lot of money Gianna says but he wants to get a job. not having money (how can he cope with) the lavishness Vaso is used to. (2b.)
 anyway as for the first time I saw him I was not impressed at all. when you see someone again you get used to them. they are preparing the house and they might get engaged (3)
 these about the future relative. Madoucén (4)

The story is an eyewitness' account. The topics are as follows:

Topics

1. visit
2. appearance of the future son-in-law
 - a. physical appearance
 - b. social status
3. general information
4. coda

The content itself guarantees objectivity. The manipulation of indexical relations to a context shared with the reader ("he looks like Christos of Dimitra") (Dimitra is a neighbour's girl and a friend of the daughter; Christos is Dimitra's fiancée) not only does it give more information but enhances credibility. The concrete community is a resource which the tale-creator draws on to enhance the impact of her present account. The story, however, functions mainly as a means of maintaining intimacy through the exchange of information. Topics about people in the community are of interest because of their function; to keep the reader up to date with current news. The mother wants to include her daughter in the community, to make her feel at home while not at home. Even the signature: "madoucén" enacts levels of shared meaning. During adolescence, the narrator's two children decided that they needed a different form to express the extremely friendly relationship with their parents. "Madoucén" is the name adopted by the daughter for the mother. By enacting this symbol, the narrator brings discreetly into foreground the relationship of shared understanding, intimacy and love and caring without saying so.

And an Example of Story Distributing

In a subsequent letter, mother gives additional information about the same topic:

(4) ante leei h giagia na ton idw kai egw na nhn pethanw kai den tha ton idw. Ean theleis na ton ideis giagia na ton ferw kamia bradia. (1)
 mia bradia htan edw sth Dhmhtra alla den phra eidhsh (2)
 ...Alla *opws ematha* den einai to spiti to problhma. den thelei h Gianna pou ton brhkes cwris douleia den mporouses na breis enan me douleia *katalabenets* apo th theia posa tha ton leei. H Basw phgainei autos ercetai autoi den theloune Theos bohthos (3)

hurry up grandma says I want to see him myself in case I die and I do not see him. Grandma if you want to see him I'll bring him here some evening. (1)
 one evening they came to Dimitra's but I didn't take notice (2)
*But as I learnt* the preparation of the house is not the problem. it is Gianna who does not agree where did you find him unemployed couldn't you find one with a proper job *you know* your aunt imagine what she is saying against him. Vaso visits him he comes here they do not want him God help (3)

The structure of story is as follows:

Topics

1. Interchange with grandmother
2. appearance of the husband-to-be in the neighbourhood
3. family distress because of his job

The storytelling structure is different here. The narrator functions both as a story-creator (topics 1 and 2) and a story-distributor (topic 3). The issue of objectivity and truth, assumed as default story-qualities in topics 1 and 2, acquire importance in topic 3. Truth is the issue of concern for the distributor who makes sure to preface her story with an indication of whether the events narrated were eyewitnessed or not. "I learnt" serves to signal the crossing of boundaries (from the story-creating world to the story-distributing); this, however, being a vague word (no mention of information-source), would render her account gossipy and so invalid. To avoid this, the narrator manipulates the reality she shares with the reader in order to give credibility to the vague claims. "You know your aunt": a resource to common knowledge is used to make the reader fill in and, on the basis of other similar situations shared in the past, recreate the present one, despite the fact that the reader is not there. "Imagine what she is saying..": it is the familiarity of the people and situations that allows for an elaboration of meaning and it is the knowledge of the community norms that helps the reader determine the importance of the narrated event.

In a third letter, the writer returns to the known subject without announcement or elaboration. She just presents a piece of information, the significance of which is appreciated against the background established in the previous letters.

- (5) H Vasw edw. O gampros boleuthke. Brhke douleia sthn
aeroporia

Vaso (is) here in the village. The (future) son-in-law
found himself a job. In the Air-Force

Let us now look at the vertical plane and examine the sequence of the three stories in terms of their relation to each other.

Stories 4 and 5 built on and extend a certain piece of information presented in story 3: the job of the husband-to-be. It is this element which is isolated as having *simasia*. Having a University-educated girl married to the owner of a kebab shop does not accord to the local standards of success. The type of profession is one of the basic means to articulate difference and, therefore, to enact performance. Working in the civil section is a job regarded easy and clean and status-confirming and, therefore, successful compared to a community of farmers who have to suffer dirt and all-day exposure to the sun. Crossing the boundary separating farmers - civil officers (two different world views) is an act of performance and qualifies for storytelling.

The story which is created and perpetuated instantiates a commonly-found pattern in the community: stories are created out of stories. The structure of the created story is:

(6) *An Integration of Stories*

- Orientation: presentation of the facts: no job
Topic 2 (story 3)
- Main narrative: Family distress because of the job
Topic 3 (story 4)
- Resolution: finding a job that establishes status
(story 5)

Truth and Tellability, pride and criticism, male-female stories, public and private contexts for performance are the basic oppositions pervading storytelling in the community, as follows:

Stories

<i>Criteria</i>	<i>Sex</i>	<i>Topic</i>	<i>Sphere</i>
Truth	Male	crops	outside, public
Tellability	Female	people	inside, private

Table 3: Storytelling Values in Chalki

It is this world that this thesis aims to capture: how does one learn to tell a story in Greek culture? How do the children come to acquire the difference between types of stories and become sensitive to tellability and storyability? What are the criteria for oral versus written narrative texts? Does truth or tellability matter the most? Is information a culturally-important storytelling quality? How much information do narrators give and how do they interweave the story for the audience to follow?

This work gives an account of the logic (i.e. the system of principles) underlying narrative text production in Greek. Although dealing with a specific type of text, the narrative, and isolating culture-specific expectations on the use of language, the work gives rise to predictions regarding the basic threads pervading text production in different media (oral-written language) and in different cultures.

1.2. Building a System of Narrative Textual Logic: The Principles

The present section offers a theoretical account of narrative text production which would provide the basis for explaining the selection of text-building strategies in a particular culture. My stance toward the analysis of storytelling is in favour of a closed study of the linguistic structure of the texts in relation to readers' comments, the aim being to extract storytelling values in the form of pragmatic principles.

The following theses are proposed with regard to text processes:

1. Narrative text production is the coordinated result of a number of maxims including the Gricean maxims
2. The maxims may conflict with each other in various cases.
3. The resolution of conflicts between maxims cannot be governed by a one-level procedure - appealing only to language producer's perception of the weight to be assigned to each of the maxims in conflict.

There is admittedly a rather fuzzy background on this area, best crystallized in Leech (1981), (1983), and a small number of articles (see, for instance, Horn (1984),

Levinson (1987a,b) for the role of information) all of which can be viewed as developing the same position toward language use: language use is the result of the application of certain pragmatic principles. Although these views have some features in common (see section 4.3. for a discussion on this), it is far from obvious how they respond to certain extremely serious problems that any theory of this sort faces: how to justify the proposed principles. Given the apparent lack of progress in such theorizing in the field of Discourse Analysis, let alone Developmental Psycholinguistics, those who wish to engage systematically in such an enterprise face a formidable task.²

To be clear about what the present theory sets out to achieve, it is helpful to distinguish between two issues:

- *the problem of membership*: which principles constitute the system underlying narrative text production and
- *the problem of justification*: how can we justify the principles proposed to constitute a system.

This work sets out to answer the first question with regard to a particular culture, Greek. An equally important task of such a theory, however, is to answer the second question by providing a detailed account of the standards, the conditions under which the principles of textual logic qualify as justified.

1.2.1. Multiple Goals: Against Linearity

Before illustrating the way in which multiple principles and maxims account for narrative text production, let me first look at the relevant literature for helpful proposals. It has to be said that research on this topic is rare. The only work that attempts to account for written text production within a pragmatic framework is that of Leech (1983) who makes some rather compact proposals. Leech argues that in producing language at the text level, a narrator has to take into account a number of concerns presented in the form of different principles. His scheme of principles reads as follows:³

The Processibility Principle: present the text "in a manner which makes it easy for the hearer to decode in time"

The Clarity Principle

- i) Transparency Maxim: "retain a direct and transparent relationship between semantic and phonological structure"
- ii) Ambiguity Maxim: "Avoid Ambiguity"

The Economy Principle: Be quick and easy

The Expressivity Principle : it captures "effectiveness in a broad sense which includes expressive and aesthetic aspects of communication".

This account, though not on the wrong track, is obviously extremely sketchy. The issues needed to be raised refer to:

- *the problem of structure*: what are the relations between the various principles?
- *the problem of justification*: what are the criteria determining the existence of this specific set of principles and not a different one?
- *the problem of universality*:⁴are the principles universal or culture-specific?

Leech does not address any of these questions. My first concern is with the derivation of the principles and the relation of each one to the other. This will naturally bring us to the foundation of the principles and the ensuing issue of universality.

The crucial, though tacit, assumption in Leech's account is the idea that text production is essentially linear in character, as involving a one-dimensional sequence of principles. It is this linear concept that generates problems. By citing isolated examples and deriving maxims from text-excerpts instead of working with whole texts, Leech is open to the charge of ad-hocery (for the same conclusion along different lines, see also Dillon et al. (1985)). One cannot propose isolated principles on the basis of single examples, but drawing on a corpus of data, one should sketch a system that would illustrate the workings of these principles both independently and in interaction with others. Contrary to this, the implied claim in Leech's account is that the crucial step in understanding a principle is to define it in a clear way; a system, arising out of the integration of different principles, would involve no further problems. The work reported in this thesis suggests the opposite. According to the envisaged theory, the relation between principles is conceived to be one of reciprocal support. Our account demands that principles be made into a maximally coherent system, with principles tested against alternative ones in a holistic way, not in isolation. It ensues then that it is impossible to grasp the nature of any principle by limiting our attention to single isolated ones; the derivation and justification of individual principles is borne out of a system which instantiates the way in which different cultures make sense and order their world. Specifically, our proposal argues for the following requirements:

1. The inferrability of a particular principle from other principles and relations among principles

2. The need for a coherent/consistent system of principles
3. The justification of individual principles through their status as members of the system.
4. The need for a justification of the overall system of principles

These are relatively abstract claims about structure underlying texts. To make them more concrete, let us begin by considering in more detail the nature of the principles proposed by Leech.

The first issue is this: What is the difference between the Processibility principle and those of Economy and Clarity? Can we really regard the latter two as autonomous? Leech seems to treat them all as different, independent principles but there are grounds for reservations with regard to this view. As will be argued in chapters 4 and 5, the latter two are better seen as lower-level principles whose operation is conducive to the ease of information processing: as such, both are simply instantiations of the Processibility Principle.

The reality and even cross-cultural validity of the principles of Processibility, Clarity and Economy do not seem to be an issue of contention. Evidence gleaned from the work in Discourse Analysis attests the reality and importance of processibility concerns in the process of text production. Within a narrative text, for instance, the use of adverbial clauses was found to be the result of a choice performed by the language producer aiming at facilitating interpretation at points of topic discontinuity: the adverbial clause serves as a kind of "guidepost" to informational flow, signalling a patch or orientation in terms of which the following information is to be understood (Chafe (1984)). Preposed purpose clauses (i.e. clauses which appear before the main clause) are presented as coherence-maximizing devices: they are used in order to help guide the attention of the reader, by signalling, within the portion of the text in which the purpose clause occurs, how the reader is expected to associate the material following the purpose clause with the material preceding it (Thompson (1985)). As regards the use of referential language in narrative texts, we are told that the organization of referential devices (Definite NPs, pronouns and zero forms) within a narrative reflects a complex adjustment to the structure of the story, i.e. its delimitation into episodes and events. (Marslen-Wilson, Levy and Tyler (1982) for English and Clancy (1980b) for American-English and Japanese). Discourse markers (*well, you know, because, etc.*), on the other hand, are seen as "textual coordinates of talk" that "focus on prior versus upcoming text: markers index their containing utterance to whatever text precedes them (proximal), or to whatever text is to follow (distal), or to both. In other words, they either point backward in a text, forward, or in both directions" (Schiffrin, 1987, p.323).

Although this issue (the reality of the principles) is not problematic, the way in

which Leech formulates the maxims that work towards bringing about the Expressivity Principle is not lucid enough. In his brief discussion of the topic, Leech has these to say:

"With the Expressivity principle we are concerned with effectiveness in a broad sense which includes expressive and aesthetic aspects of communication, rather than simply with efficiency. For example, an Iconicity maxim (which invites the user, all other things being equal, to make the text imitate aspects of the message) should be included in it. For the present, we may note the influence of the Expressivity principle in inhibiting reduction." (Leech, 1983, p.68)

Leech is not specific enough about the way in which this principle actually works in real texts to give rise to different textual styles neither about the interaction between the maxims working towards bringing about the Expressivity and the rest principles, Processibility, Economy and Clarity. Does, for instance, the Iconicity maxim work only toward expressivity and not toward text processing? Empirical evidence disqualifies the first point, documenting the need to get away from the conception of isolated principles to a sense where linguistic forms (which are taken here to be repercussions of pragmatic principles) work in a variety of ways at once. In analyzing referential choice in spoken narratives by American-English and Japanese speakers, for instance, Clancy (1980b) found out that a variety of factors determine the use of pronouns and Definite Noun Phrases, such as narrators' need to signal episode boundaries, establish topic continuity and identify with a character (empathy). Working in the same area of discourse anaphora, Fox (1987) correlates the use of anaphora with discourse factors as well. The interesting point, however, is her finding that a number of cases of referential choice could not be accounted for in terms of concerns for building discourse structure. More complex processes were thus at work, although Fox does not provide us with any insight into their nature. Tannen (1989) illustrates that linguistic structures such as ellipsis, dialogue, imagery, repetition and detail, apart from building coherence, serve an expressive function as devices creating interpersonal involvement. The deletion of words, frequently associated with repetition, is a device, forcing the audience to become more involved in the sensemaking, as in the following example of an oral Greek narrative (reported in Tannen (1983), p.363):

- (7)
- | | |
|--------|------------|
| "Fyge" | "Get away" |
| Tipota | Nothing |
| "Fyge" | "Get away" |
| Tipota | Nothing |

Given this elided form, the hearer is asked to fill in and, in doing so, he understands something like: I kept saying "get away", but he didn't comply.

A synthetic understanding regarding the contribution of different linguistic structures to both coherence and poeticity emerges from a different source: folklore work. The research of Hymes (1987) and Tedlock (1987) among others (see also

Sherzer (1983) and Sherzer and Woodbury (1987)) on North American Native Discourse demonstrated how devices such as lines and verses reveal hidden aspects of poeticity in Native American discourse and, in so doing, invalidated claims about the primitive nature of language use in oral storytelling of ordinary people. A wide range of formal devices was found which, building on sound, syntactic form and content, establish pattern and recurrence and create complex rhythms.

It is evident then that the expressive, poetic function of language can also be achieved by means used for the attainment of coherence. A valuable comment indicating the direction of the work regarding the interaction between principles and sub-maxims is made in the review of Fox's work by Corbin (1989) who pinpoints the heart of the matter. According to Corbin:

Fox even seems to suggest that discourse structure plays the principal role (i.e. for referential choice). What is needed for this kind of phenomena are models for the interaction of (perhaps partially) independent factors, especially for the calculus of the resulting effect. For instance, what does it mean to say that a given factor plays a crucial role? Does that mean that it can override all contradictory determinations whatever force they may have? it is likely that this formulation would be excessive. There is rather a calculus which takes into account the respective forces of the different factors. (1989, p. 146-7)

Fraser (1990) puts the issue succinctly. In discussing Leech's proposal on interpersonal rhetoric, he makes the following comments:

This proposal is difficult to evaluate, since there is no way of knowing which maxims are to be applied, what scales are available, how they are to be formulated, what their dimensions are, when and to what degree they are relevant, and so forth. (Fraser 1990, p.227)

Given this, it becomes clear that the major weakness in Leech's account is the definition of text production in terms of various types of principles which are presented as a series of isolated injunctions and not embedded within a framework that could explain their nature and interrelations. The question that needs to be asked (and is not) is this: Where do these principles come from? An answer would help us offer a principled account of the choices language producers make in the course of language use and the reasons behind them. (see also P. Brown (1976) for a criticism of Lakoff's system of politeness as the result of a series of isolated rules of politeness). For us, coherence, seen to be the matter of the internal relations between the constituent principles, is a necessary requirement of the structure underlying storytelling.

The aim of this thesis is to begin the task of formulating a theory of narrative text production which would satisfy the foregoing strictures by, first, delineating the main ingredients of such a view (a grounded system of principles) and, secondly, elaborating the leading objections which such a position would face.

The central claim to be made here stresses the need for a coherent and socially-real system of principles capturing patterns of storytelling in particular cultures. Text production is viewed as an organized system of culturally-significant goals which are coherently interrelated; insofar as a person's text building strategies derive from this system, they are justified.

The principles we postulate capture not only the details of the taleworld (the linguistic structure of the text as the production of an ideal piece of language) but also the dynamics of the interaction between the tale-, the storyworld and the community. These dynamics are expected to be subject to social and cross-cultural differentiation. Stressing culture-dependence, the work can meet objections regarding the criteria we use for postulating the specific set and structure of principles presented in this thesis. What is presented is not an ideal, socially-neutral model but a culturally-situated way of enacting a system which has validity and reality for the people in a specific community.

The proposal has as follows: The Aristotelian thesis that humans are rational beings (in the sense of means-ends, practical rationality) constitutes the core and non-empirically justifiable assumption in this work. Building on Rationality and integrating people's concern to communicate efficiently (Principle of Communicative Efficiency) with their efforts to put forward a story which will be appreciated as interesting (Principle of Tellability) and assessing the results of my empirical analyses, a system of narrative textual logic is proposed consisting of multiply-interacting principles and maxims. Each principle is shown to consist of a number of lower-level maxims including the Gricean maxims reformulated to account for discourse-level issues (see section 1.2.2. for a discussion on this). The whole system of principles and maxims derives its potential from Rationality. It is shown that practical (means-ends) reasoning can bring us from each higher level of principles to the next lower one and finally down to the linguistic details of message construction.

1.2.2. The Gricean Maxims in Storytelling

In order to account for the way in which people speak and understand others, Grice proposed a number of maxims that people follow mainly unconsciously, dealing with issues of truthfulness (maxim of Quality), informativeness (maxim of Quantity), relevance (maxim of Relevance) and way of information presentation (maxim of Manner). All these maxims specify guidelines for the efficient use of language in conversation and jointly express the following co-operative principle:

The Cooperative Principle

make your contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged.

A number of attempts have been made in recent years to reduce the Gricean framework of four maxims to fewer principles. Two such attempts are of significance, proposed by Horn (1984) and Sperber and Wilson (1986) respectively. Horn (1984) proposes the reduction of human communication to two main principles, Quantity and Relevance, whereas Sperber and Wilson (1986) in a more widely-known work argue that the Gricean framework can be profitably reduced more to a single principle, the Relevance principle, which is regarded as the single, overarching principle governing all human communication. The work reported here proceeds in the opposite direction; my proposal builds on the assumption that the Gricean framework is correct but needs to be reformulated in order to take into account discourse-level phenomena. To facilitate understanding, I start the discussion by citing the maxims as they were formulated by Grice and, subsequently, by focusing on each of them, I discuss the way in which these same maxims can account for discourse-level issues too.

The Quantity maxim contains two injunctions, Q1 and Q2.:

- (8) Q1: make your contribution as informative as is
 required for the current purposes of the exchange
- Q2: do not make your contribution more informative
 than is required (Grice (1975), pp.45-46).

Given the two maxims proposed to deal with issues of informativeness, a number of researchers (Horn (1984)) proceeded to ask whether the Quantity-2 maxim is needed to be postulated as an independent principle, since its effects might be achieved by the Relevance maxim. Horn in fact conflates all maxims, except for the Quantity-1 maxim, into the maxim of Relevance. The need for postulating both Q-1 and Q-2 maxims is advocated by a group of researchers who follow a neo-Gricean interpretation of the maxims. Along with the neo-Griceans (Atlas and Levinson (1981), Levinson (1987a,b)), I argue that we do need a principle that achieves the effects of the Q-2 maxim. While producing language at the text level, we do in fact need a principle that would tell the narrator not only to give the addressee as much information as possible but also to tell him that s/he should not give more information than is necessary. Following Levinson (1987b), I call the latter principle the I-principle, I distinguish two submaxims (one for the hearer and one for the speaker) and formulate them as follows:

*Speaker's Maxim:**The Maxim of Minimization:*

Say as little as necessary, i.e.
produce the minimal linguistic clues
sufficient to achieve your
communicative ends, bearing Q in mind.

*Recipient's Corollary:**The Enrichment Rule:*

Amplify the informational content of
the speaker's utterance, by finding
a *more specific* interpretation
up to what you judge to be speaker's
m-intended point.⁵ (after
Levinson (1987b, p.68)

The need to postulate distinct principles dealing with informativeness is founded on empirical analyses of real texts. Chapters 4, 5 and 6 sketch the processes by which language producers balance the conflicting requirements of the Q- and I-principle at specific points within texts and illustrate the distinct textual effects brought about by the operation of each of these maxims.

Apart from issues of informativeness, issues of truthfulness are equally important. As Horn (1984) argues, unless Quality obtains, the entire conversational and implicatural apparatus would collapse. Moreover, issues of truthfulness can have interactional consequences. In conversational narratives, issues of truthfulness not only arise but are important for the acceptance of the narrator as a person (see chapter 3 and Shuman (1986)).

In addition, I regard the Relevance maxim ("make your contribution as relevant as possible"), although not formulated in sufficiently explicit fashion, as particularly important. Attempts to make explicit the nature of this maxim were made by Dascal (1979) and Holdcroft (1987) while Sperber and Wilson (1986) regard it as the overarching principle that controls human communication. According to Sperber and Wilson, people process information only if they believe it is relevant to them. The main aim of all information processing is to gain information with the least cost in processing. Relevance is explained as related to:

- the number of contextual implications
- the amount of processing needed to derive those implications

A speaker who expects his utterance to be interpreted in a particular way will have to have grounds that the context within which the hearer would process the utterance is accessible to him. In cases where this is not clearly so, the speaker

may use specific forms (connectives, for example, according to Blakemore (1987)) so that he can constrain the hearer's choice of context and, thus, facilitate interpretation.

The major point of interest for the discussion reported here is the one regarding the relation between relevance and informativeness. Sperber and Wilson attempt to reduce relevance to a measure of informativeness, conflating it with the two maxims that deal exclusively with issues related to the quantity of information. I propose that this conflation is not necessary, first, because there are specific maxims (the I- and Q-maxim) which adequately handle issues of information and, secondly, because Relevance, in the way it is formulated by Sperber and Wilson, cannot capture sequential expectations of coherence and teleological connectedness which are a necessary apparatus in language interpretation. In this thesis, the Relevance maxim is taken to operate in this second way to denote:

(10) **The Maxim of Relevance**

sequential expectations

In greetings of the type:

A: Good morning

B:

there are expectations about what to occur as the second part, in the sense that not any answer can be regarded as the relevant one.

teleological connectedness: a response can be regarded as a relevant one insofar it meets the requirements of the exchange.

topical connectedness: an utterance is relevant if it is connected to the topic, i.e. to what is being talked about. (see also Levinson (1987b))

The text analyses performed give support to the Relevance maxim formulated in the latter way. I claim that this maxim contains injunctions on topical connectedness, which in turn requires that the narrator performs a specific kind of task, formulated as follows:

(11) **The Principle of Relevance: Written Text Production**

establish topic continuity at points where topic changes occur

In chapters 4 and 5 with detailed analyses of specific texts produced by different age-groups, the specific way in which the Relevance maxim operates within discourse is presented. As the discussion proceeds, the structure underlying

narrative text production in Greek emerges; within this structure, the Gricean maxims combined with other maxims play an important role in giving rise to and accounting for specific textual strategies.

1.3. Grounding the System of Principles and Maxims: The Role of Rationality

The point established thus far argues for a conception of narrative text production as a coherent system of principles and maxims (the latter include the Gricean maxims, as sketched above) which captures how people make sense of their world and express their reality through storytelling. Every language producer by the fact of engaging in storytelling is committed to accepting and enacting this structure because it is enriched with meaning, *simasia*. It is *simasia* which gives rationale to this system.

The issue of concern in this section is to discuss the foundations of this system by making clear that its constituent principles are not just an odd collection; they make an internally coherent picture. I suggest that this is because, when people use language, they follow certain strategies intending to do certain kinds of things. The range of communicative strategies chosen is proposed to be explicable in terms of practical, means-ends, reasoning; given that, it falls out that any theory of text production would form part of a theory of rational action, i.e. a theory that would necessarily incorporate the practical rationality (means-ends) postulate.

Given this, this section argues for the necessity of postulating a principle, Rationality, which would anchor storytelling principles in various relations to each other and guarantee the internal coherence of the system. It is argued that the unity of narrative text production needs to be complex in order to capture the complex reality of storytelling but in a systematic way such that an order can be seen in the variety of options a culture offers to language producers: systematicity is brought about only when certain rational orders of priority and posteriority obtain within principles.

The rationality postulate, in fact, underlies all current work carried out in Pragmatics and Discourse Analysis. Discourse Analysts cannot possibly account for a given interactional exchange or the structure of a text unless they rely on some fundamental assumptions, i.e. believe that the exchange under examination is in line with the expected norm of interaction. In other words, Discourse Analysts cannot account for the unexpected unless they find ways to subsume it under the expected, i.e. rational, outcome. An empirical illustration of this balance is the work on indirect speech-acts. When the coherence of an interactional exchange cannot be found at the surface level of words, analysts proceed to a deeper level,

the one related to the speech-acts performed and even further to the level related to the negotiation of status between the participants involved (see the work by Labov and Fanshel (1977)). Stubbs (1983) makes this point particularly clear:

...a great deal of conversational structure is overtly marked on the surface of a discourse. However, if the coherence of a discourse sequence cannot be explained by reference to surface cohesion, then the analysis *must* rest on underlying acts which are performed by the utterances. *It is important to* motivate every step away from the surface, from observable cohesive ties to abstract ones...I will use the evidence of a break in the surface cohesion of a fragment of discourse to try and motivate underlying acts. (1983, p. 169) (the emphasis is mine).

In order to perform this regress, Discourse Analysts necessarily have to build their reasoning on one basic statement which constitutes the core of the field: the statement of human rationality. People are seen as rational beings and, as such, are expected to be rational when they use language to communicate with each other. It is my contention that every language producer and text analyst, by the fact of engaging in text production and/or text analysis, is logically committed to accepting the principle of Rationality. This principle stands unchallenged as the criterion of rightness and, due to its content (to be explicated in chapter 8 of the thesis), conformity with its requirements is obligatory.

Within narrative textual logic in particular, Rationality is regarded as the supreme principle taking precedence over all other principles constituting narrative text production in the sense that it provides definite answers regarding the identity and membership criteria of the rest principles.⁶ The core claim of the work is that narrative text production as an instance of human action can be accounted for in terms of practical syllogism, as follows:

- (12) (P1) A intends to bring about a certain end E
 (P2) A considers that unless he does action X, he
 cannot bring about E
-
- (C) A sets himself to do X (after Von Wright 1983) .

The following chapters, centering on the two notions figuring prominently in the two premises, those of "goal" and "choice", raise questions on the relation between social norms and linguistic choices and discuss the intrinsic influence normative expectations (such as those associated with the discourse type within which one operates) exert on decision-making processes regarding language use. In doing so, the discussion, although starting with the standard version of the practical syllogism (as presented in (12)), comes ultimately to propose a reformulated version of it closely attuned to sociolinguistic concerns - it explains and defends the thesis that practical rationality consists in the use of socioculturally variable means in the pursuit of socio-culturally "appropriate" ends.

Consider the limitations of the standard account: the first premise of the practical syllogism postulates that in using language, a language producer X intends to pursue a specific goal E. Yet, when examined in detail, this premise leaves a number of issues unanswered (see also Tuomela (1977), (1986)). Questions regarding the factors at work and the exact character of the decision-making processes leading people to the choice of specific goals are not even raised. How did a person come to have this goal in the first place? What happens when there are too many goals to choose from? What are the processes by which this set of goals is narrowed down to a single one? What are the cultural processes involved in this enterprise? Practical syllogism does not deal with such issues but rather illustrates the end-result of this process. All these, however, are real questions that Discourse Analysts necessarily face in their work and have to be answered before further analyses are undertaken. It is these very questions that in essence determine the methodological procedures to be followed for the collection of the data and the type of answers given. The thesis puts forward this claim: society gives people certain goals to pursue which suggest certain means (communicative strategies); the latter suggest specific linguistic choices which would implement these communicative goals.

In the light of this discussion, it emerges that the notion of practical rationality provides this account with great explanatory and predictive power. By assuming that a given person's choice of a certain communicative strategy is what the person judged the rational thing to do for achieving certain goals, any theory incorporating the rationality postulate makes strong predictions which can be difficult to falsify. Although we admit that the notion of Rationality is hard to test empirically (and this is a problem faced in the whole field of Pragmatics and Discourse Analysis (DA)), the present theory does offer the possibility of testing for principles located at different levels.

1.3.1. Reflections and Reassessments regarding the Rationality Postulate

In presenting an account building on Rationality, the work may be regarded as closely resembling Brown and Levinson's work on Politeness (1987). To account for similarities in patterns of language use found across different languages, Brown and Levinson start from the basic assumption that people are rational beings and postulate a motive (called Politeness) to account for any departures from the expected ways of transmitting information (i.e. from ways that conform to the Gricean maxims). Rationality is defined in their work "as the application of a specific mode of reasoning - what Aristotle called "practical reasoning" which guarantees inferences from ends or goals to means that will satisfy those ends" (1987, p.64).

Although the analysis in this thesis also builds on Rationality, there are differences in the application of this notion here and in the work by Brown and Levinson, the most important one concerning the unit of analysis: whole texts (this study) versus isolated utterances (Levinson and Brown's work). This difference is more than a simple divergence of interest. The initial choice of the unit of analysis proves to be of paramount importance in that it determines not only the kind of answers given but also the questions to be asked in the first place. The examination of continuous text brings out a host of problems relating to the way in which practical reasoning informs each stage in the dynamic process of text production. This, along with the comparative analyses of whole texts, has allowed the construction of a complete system illustrating in detail the working of Rationality as an overarching principle and sketching its ramifications into further principles and sub-principles.

In addition, despite focusing on the effects exerted on language use by the interaction of social and cognitive factors (as in Brown and Levinson's work), there is a different approach to the conceptualization of the social factors leading to specific linguistic choices. For Brown and Levinson, the social factors determining participants' use of linguistic forms (as the result of the assessment of the weight of a Face threatening act) are three: the power (P) of the relationship, the distance (D) between interlocutors and the absolute ranking of impositions (R) in a particular culture. For us, although group membership and social relations are significant parameters, we regard it as particularly important to show (along with social roles) the way in which genres as socially-constructed and transmitted systems of expectations enter the decision-making processes regarding language use, the aim being to trace the detailed way in which people in the process of their socialization come to acquire socially-established and transmitted conventions (such as generic conventions) which in turn inform their decision-making processes when using language.

However, in presenting an account of language use based on the assumption of practical reasoning, one is subject to the same type of criticism levelled against Brown and Levinson's work: criticisms related to the theoretical idealism underlying the rationality postulate and objections regarding the deterministic or correlational approach to accounting for style differences, i.e. generic factors as single determinants for style differences. Coupland et al. (1988), for instance, raise concerns about the theoretical idealism inherent in Brown and Levinson's belief that practical reason can explain language producers' intentions and strategies. Coupland et al. do not sufficiently validate their claim that this cannot be so but this is not surprising since such an enterprise would require a different type of vocabulary. My thesis is that we cannot validate claims of this type; the discussion has to be located on a different level. The rationality postulate is an a-priori,

necessarily true assumption and, as such, cannot be validated by means of the empirical procedures common in the field of Pragmatics and Discourse Analysis. Issues related to the interaction between the empirical and non-empirical element when analysing language use constitute an integral part of this work and are dealt with in detail in chapter 8.

As regards the second possible objection, the following comments would suffice. Correlational methods (i.e. the use of specific linguistic forms as the linear result of particular factors, for instance, the social group to which one belongs), have now been replaced by more dynamic accounts (Gumperz, Aulakh and Kaltman (1982)) that take into consideration the interaction of different factors that give rise to varying stylistic strategies. In line with the latter orientation, the aim of this work lies in presenting not a single or even a catalogue of different factors (social and/or cognitive ones) but rather in providing a systematic account of narrative style by illustrating the structure of different maxims and principles.

Chapter 2

Analysing Narrative Texts: Main Issues and Guiding Assumptions

Main Hypothesis and Leading Proposal

The proposal put forward regarding text processes is this: any systematic account of text production needs to incorporate a distinction of pragmatic principles into first- and second-order principles. Text production is the outcome of the operation of a number of core second-order pragmatic principles which may be instantiated differently in different cultures. The exact way in which this whole apparatus of principles is put to use by different age- and cultural groups gives rise to age- and culturally-specific patterns of textual logic. Differences, therefore, between age-groups are expected to be found at the following levels:

1. the type of second-order principles used
2. the order of priority assigned to different second-order principles and
3. the way in which different language producers coordinated the injunctions of the first-order principles in conflict.

It is, thus, hypothesized that in text production different age-groups would either have different information at their disposal, that is, use different pragmatic principles, or, that, when relying on the same apparatus of pragmatic principles, they would implement it differently.

2.1. Subjects and Materials for Data Collection

The number of subjects who participated in the study along with their distribution in terms of age is shown in the following table:

<i>Age Group</i>	<i>Number</i>
8	23
10	31
12	34
Adults	31

Total	119

Table 4: The subjects who participated in the Task

The data used are of three different types: a) oral and written narrative texts, b) interviews with children along with readers' comments on a subset of the collected texts and c) children's written responses collected two years after the initial collection of the narrative corpus. The collected data are instances out of which a general analysis of language use at the text level is developed.

The written narrative texts were elicited by asking children and adults to perform two tasks: a) to write two stories depicted in two picture-sequences that were placed in front of them and b) to write on two topics. The picture-based stories constitute the main corpus of this work and are subjected to detailed analyses with the other texts used as a background to lend additional support to the claims made here regarding the factors conditioning narrative production in Greek culture. For a detailed description of the different sets of data collected, the types of analyses (quantitative, qualitative) and the statistical tests performed, see Appendix III.

Each of the two picture-sequences contains nine (9) pictures depicting a story (see appendix IV). The pictures were drawn in such a way that a number of temporal relations (simultaneity, sequentiality and causality) would obtain between the various events and the activities of the characters would interlock. Characters thus appear and disappear from the scene in such a way that their linguistic rendering would help us pinpoint children's sensitivity to distinctions such as old-new information, given information in focus, given information out of focus and their relation to temporality.

2.1.1. Remarks on the Materials Used

In the field of DA in the Brown and Yule tradition, presentations of pictures (Karmiloff-Smith (1981), (1984), (1986a) and videos (Hickmann (1982), Bamberg (1985)) constitutes the most frequently used method for text elicitation.

In this study, pictures were used in order to control the content of the texts produced. If the subjects were allowed to invent any kind of narrative they wished, then important factors (such as the number of the characters, the order of their appearance, the type and interrelations of the events mentioned, etc.) would differ significantly, rendering the task of text comparison difficult or even impossible.

Examining the picture-based methodology from a sociolinguistic point of view, the objections one could raise with regard to its validity can be reduced to two main points, one referring to the role of picture-describing in people's lives, the other criticizing the researcher's intervention during the data collection as prohibiting natural speech. If sociolinguists investigate the way people actually use language in everyday settings, then questions arise whether description of pictures is indeed a naturally occurring situation in children's lives or an artificial one; if the latter, its effects on the text produced can be quite serious.

It is undeniably true that people narrate stories and describe pictures but this activity occurs in the course of natural conversations and not for its own sake; stories have a point to make (to entertain, to present a moral) and they are usually interwoven in conversations. However, these issues have no validity when it comes to children. In children's lives, picture-describing is far from a strange situation; it constitutes a "natural speech event" (for the notion of "natural situation" in Sociolinguistics, see Wolfson (1976)). As evidence for this view, consider the research conducted on preschool interactions between mothers and children with Snow (see, Snow and Goldfield (1982), and Snow and Tabors (1990)) as the major exponent, who has aptly demonstrated the way caretakers build stories in the course of conversing with their children; when focusing on picture-based books, mothers through the use of questions and reformulations try to elicit from their still incompetent interlocutors adequate descriptions about the pictures on which both are focused and in this way help the children get used to the structure of narrative constructions valued by their society. This research has not only recognized the frequency of occurrence of the picture-describing and book-reading situations in children's lives but has made claims about its significance for later communicative and linguistic development. In addition to that, language textbooks currently used in Greek classrooms contain pictures and children are asked to perform a number of different tasks on them. Picture describing is thus far from strange to them.

A further possible criticism of the materials used for data collection would relate to the issue of generalizability: if it is established that context crucially affects language use, then we cannot possibly claim that we can capture children's abilities by examining a limited number of texts (see also Milroy (1987) and Stubbs (1983)). This is indeed so but, needless to say, practical considerations crucially shape research design. It is simply difficult to document developmental mechanisms across different contexts within a limited amount of time. Any emphasis on quantity of data would run counter to detailed insights that only qualitative text-analysis can render. Accounts of language use which rely on a conception of language development as a citation of bar charts of various features cannot capture the underlying mechanisms at work. As already documented, the aim of the work is to go beyond surface analyses of specific forms and capture the system that gives rise to such forms and, ultimately, to differences in style. Surface forms, I claim, are repercussions of more abstract principles. It is those underlying mechanisms that I attempt to capture rather than document the frequency of specific linguistic forms.

2.2. Data Analysis

2.2.1. Analysis of the Picture-Based Narrative Texts: Tracing the Event Line

The basic aim of the thesis, being to uncover narrative development in Greek through an examination of similarities and differences in patterns of event reference and event connectivity, involves us in tracing the way in which people establish reference to events and trace the event line throughout their texts.

The basic term in need of definition is that of "event". The term "event" is used to refer to an entity which is bounded and has a beginning and an end in time; events, as Mourelatos (1981) argues, are situations that can be counted. "Eventness" is not a feature of the outside world. Events come into existence through language; they are ways people use to package the flow of temporal information.

But how can we distinguish and trace events within a text? Which events move the narrative line forward and which stall narrative time movement? Events are usually thought of as being rendered through verbs, but this is not necessarily true. Extensive work done on these issues by formal semanticists (Dowty (1986), Nerbonne (1986) and Partee (1984)), and literary theorists (Aristar-Dry (1983) and Dry (1981)) is particularly important in making clear that in order to document the way in which the event line is rendered in texts, one has to consider the interaction between aspect, verb typology or aktionsart along with prepositional and adverbial complements.

With regard to aktionsart (i.e. inherent aspect), a number of typologies have been proposed that divide verbs into categories, the best known being the one proposed by Vendler (1967). Vendler advances a distinction of verbs into "states", "activities", "achievements" and "accomplishments". Accomplishments (build a house, run a mile) are situations which have some duration and a natural endpoint. An achievement (reach the top, die) is a punctual occurrence without duration. Activities (run, swim) have no natural endpoint and they are homogeneous whereas states (love, hate) are seen to involve no change and require no input to maintain. Although usually cited, it is by now clear that the typology proposed by Vendler suffers from a number of weaknesses regarding the classification of verbs into discrete categories. Mourelatos (1981), has a summary of these points and a reformulation of Vendler's original typology, and this is the one that is being followed here. To facilitate understanding, Vendler's terminology⁷ will also be used.

A detailed discussion of the forms that move or do not move narrative time forward is out of the immediate concerns of the present work; since, however, this topic plays an important role for the coding of the data, I cite specific examples from the narrative texts to illustrate the way in which the event line was actually traced. The straightforward cases are cited first, supplemented with examples where difficulties in coding procedures were found; the latter are grouped into categories. New terminology, when introduced, will be discussed with the level of detail which would be important for subsequent understanding. The coding that was finally performed will be shown and justified.

Consider first two examples of straightforward coding.

- (13) a. Meta apo wra h aderfh tous **bghke apo to mpanio**
(e1)
- b. kai **forese** (e2) alla kathara rouca.
- c. Otan **bghke exw** (e3)
- d. o Thanashs ths **carise** (e4) louloudia.
-
- a. After a while their sister **got out of the bathroom**
(e1)
- b. and **changed into** (e2) different clean clothes.
- c. When she **went out** (e3)
- d. Thanasis **offered** (e4) her flowers. (Thomas R., 12 years old)

- (14)
- a. O Fwths etsi elegan to agori **prospathse (e1)**
na ftasei ena kouti
 - b. alla **epese (e2)**
 - c. kai **lerwse (e3)** to patwma. O Fwtis den
noiasthke katholou gia 'fto.
 - d. **Phgan** sto dwmatio **(e4)** me ta paicnidia
 - e. ki **arcisan (e5)** na paizoun.
 - f. Sto telos ta **erixan (e6)** katw.
 - g. H mhtera tous **eide (e7)** ta koutia pesmena katw
 - h. kai **etrexe (e8)** na brei ta paidia.
 - i. Tous **eipe (e9)** na sigirisoun thn kouzina kai me
thn efkairia to dwmatio tw n paichidiwn.
 - k. Ta paidia **eucarisththhkan (e10)** pou den ta malwse h
mhtera tous.
-
- a. Photis this was the name of the boy **tried to (e1)**
reach a can
 - b. but it **toppled over (e2)**
 - c. and **covered the floor (e3)**. Photis didn't worry
about this.
 - d. (They) **Went to the room (e4)** in which
they had their toys
 - e. and **began to play (e5)**.
 - f. In the end, they **scattered everything around (e6)**.
 - g. Their mother **saw (e7)** the cans scattered on the
floor
 - h. and **rushed (e8)** to find the children.
 - i. She **asked (e9)** them to clean the kitchen and given
this chance the room with the toys.
 - k. The children **felt happy (e10)** that their mother
had not scolded them. (George K., 10 years old)

Cases for Discussion

1) Aspectualizers and Their Role in Narrative Time Movement

The forms *begin*, *continue*, *stop*, *finish* have been given a number of different names; here, they will be referred to as "aspectualizers". The main issue for consideration is the role that aspectualizers play for moving the narrative line forward. Specifically: is the mention of the initiation of an event enough for enacting a forward movement of the event line or is it necessary that the event is also completed? I claim that the initiation can indeed move narrative time forward and so forms of the type "arcisan na paizoun" (they began to play) found in the texts will be coded in the event line.

A investigation of the semantic characteristics of aspectualizers can be found in Miller (1972) on Russian, Freed (1979) on English and Brinton (1988) from a diachronic point of view. Building on this work, events are regarded to be segmentable in three different stages: an "onset" (or preparatory stage), a "nucleus" (the activity itself, which can be further divided into smaller segments) and a "coda" (or definite close), as in the following example:

(15) "I write"
|---onset---|---nucleus---|---coda---|

Aspectualizers are crucially related to these distinctions, their role being to invoke one of these event-stages. The English verb "begin", for instance, refers to the initial segment of the nucleus of an event, whereas "start" refers to the onset, as in the following diagram:

(16)
|---start to write---|-----|-----|
|-----begin---to---write-----|-----|

In the collected texts, the most frequently-used verb to indicate initiation was the verb "arcizo" which is taken to be similar to the English "begin" rather than to "start". When one "arcizei" to do something and then stops, the implication is that s/he has done a part of the nucleus activity. If, for instance, one says

(17) "arcisa thces na grafo thn ergasia"
I began writing the essay yesterday

the implication is that s/he has written some pages (or at least one). The verb of the type "Phga cthes na grapsw thn ergasia alla hrthe h Maria" (I went to write the essay yesterday but Maria came along), the implication is that s/he has not written anything at all. The verb "arcizw" does not take a perfective aspect

- (18) a. * arcisa cthes na grapso then ergasia
 ARCISA (1,s,pst,pf) CTHES (adverb) NA GRAPSO (1,s,pst,pf) THN (art,f,s,acc) ERGASIA (nom,f,s,acc)
- b. arcisa cthes na grafo thn ergasia
 ARCISA (1,s,past,pf) CTHES (adverb) NA (sub)
 GRAFO (1,s,pr,imp) THN (art,f,s,acc)
 ERGASIA (nom,f,s,acc)

because it refers to the intitation of the nucleus of the activity which is mentioned in the complement.

Consider now the following example:

- (19) a. H mhtera tous meta phge sthn toualeta kai **arcise na kanei mpanio**.
- b. Meta otan **teleiwse** h mhtera tous **to mpanio**...
- a Then their mother went to the bathroom and **began to wash herself** (begin to take a bath, literally).
- b. Then when their mother **finished her bath**...
 (Ntina M., 12 years old)

(19b) refers to an event, the initiation of which initiation is mentioned in (19a). Both predicates are coded in the event line, since the initiation and the termination, although referring to the same event "kanw mpanio" (take a bath), in themselves, constitute two different segments of an activity, the initiation and termination of it. It is often the case that one may perform the first segment without the other one, e.g. "She started working on her thesis 10 years ago and she never finished it".

2) Scalar Predicates and their Role in Narrative Time Movement

The category under this heading subsumes predicates of the type:

- (20) a. Ta paidia **den katharisan** thn kouzina

The children **did not clean** the kitchen
(Christos M., 12 years old)

b. O Fwtis ...**prospathhse na ftasei** ena kouti

Fotis ... **tried to reach** a can (George K., 10
years old)

c. To paidi **eplase to kouti**

The boy **reached the can** (Christos M., 12
years old)

In what follows, I discuss the factors responsible for our perceiving the latter two cases as forwarding narrative time movement while this is obviously not the case with the first example. I argue that there are pragmatic processes at work: narrative time movement is an effect of scalar implicatures.

Horn (1972) and Gazdar (1979) make clear that certain predicates $e_1, e_2, e_3, \dots, e_n$ can be placed on a scale along the parameter of semantic informativeness in the following way:

$\langle e_1, e_2, e_3, \dots, e_n \rangle \dots$

$\langle \text{succeed in Ving, try to V, want to V} \rangle$

Such a scale is instrumental in bringing about a certain kind of implicatures, called "scalar implicatures", which are closely related to the assumption informing the Gricean maxim of Quantity, which can be sketched as follows:

There is a general predictive rule for deriving a set of Quantity implicatures, namely if a speaker asserts that a lower or weaker point (i.e. a rightwards item in the ordered set of alternates) on a scale, then he implicates that a higher or stronger point (leftwards in the ordered set) does not obtain. (Levinson 1983, p.133)

In the cases cited above, (20a.) contains a predicate *did not clean the kitchen* explicitly stating the non-occurrence of an event. Predicates containing negatives are not coded since they explicitly refer to events that did not take place.

Given the above scale and the workings of implicatures, it is clear how readers derive from the example (20b.) the implicature that the event has not actually taken place; the use of the informationally weak predicate (*tried to reach a can*)

implicates that the informationally stronger one (*reached* the can) did not actually obtain, otherwise the narrator would have used the stronger expression available by the Greek linguistic system. Still, although the event of reaching is not registered, the attempt itself "prospathhse na ftasei" (tried to) is an event that indeed took place; it occupied a certain period of time, it is an event that happened and, as such, it is coded in the narrative event line. Example (20c.) does not present any problem. It is a straightforward mention of the occurrence of an event: "*reached the can*".

3) Participles and Time Movement

Consider now the following example:

- (21) H mhtera tous **mpainontas sthn kouzina** diapistwnei..

Entering the kitchen their mother finds out..

The participle "mpainontas sthn kouzina" is coded in the event line; one may, of course, object to this decision if it is a-priori taken that participles denote an event which overlaps with a previous or subsequent finite one ("diapistwnei" (discovers)) and, as such, both events "mpainontas sthn kouzina, diapistwnei" (entering the kitchen, finds out) do not move the narrative time. I will not justify this claim here; in section 5.2.3. of the thesis the role that participles play in terms of effecting a forward movement of narrative time is discussed in detail.

In contrast:

- (22) O Grhgorhs esthse xana to kabaletto kai h Dwra
bohthhse na apokatastathei h zhmia **katharizontas**
to cwro ap tis mpogies pou eican pesei...

Grigoris put up the easel again and Dora helped (him)
to restore the effects of the damage by **cleaning**
the place from the spilt paint. ..(Vaso, M. adult)

the activity mentioned in the participle was not coded; the participle "katharizontas ton topo" (cleaning the place) does not refer to an event as such but rather to descriptive material (for an illustration of the discourse function of this type of participles in American-English, see Thompson (1987)).

4) Mental Events

Mental events as the ones in the following example were coded:

- (23) Ena bazo me glukto tou koutaliou tha tous ikanopoiouse plhrws alla o enthousiasmos kai h biasunh tous erixan to bazo katw. Ta sunaisthmata **metatraphkan** xafnika se apelpisia kai apogosteush ta opoia omws den diarkesan gia polu. Epikrathsan se croniko diasthma oso htan sthn kouzina. Me to pou phgan sto saloni auta **exafanisthkan** kai ta **diadecthke** h xenoiasia kai h epithumia gia paignidi.

A sweet would have most satisfied them but their enthusiasm and hastiness dropped the jar on the floor. Their feelings suddenly **turned into** despair and fear which however did not last long. They lasted only during the time the children were in the kitchen. As soon as they went to the sitting room, they **disappeared** and a playful mood **succeeded** them. So, now they are sitting in the sitting room....
(Christina K., adult)

Excerpt (23) presents the successive occurrence of various mental states, *metatraphkan* (turned into), *exafanisthkan* (disappeared), *diadecthke* (succeeded), all of which are coded in the event line.

5) Comprehensive Events

In the collected texts, a number of predicates were found which do not refer to events as such but rather encompass small-events. Consider, for instance, the following case:

- (24) ...ta paidia apofasismena na epanorthwsoun **arcisan** thn douleia. **Shkwsan to kabaletto mazepsan ta crwmata....**

...the children to make amends **started working**. (They) **put up** the easel **picked up the paint-pots**... (Georgia K., adult)

The two predicates (put up the easel, picked up the paint-pots) contain mention to two different activities, which are contained in the first predicate "started working". This predicate, I claim, contains a kind of advanced summary; it is a

characterization of the events that are to follow. The verbs that follow "shkwsan to kabaletto" (put up the easel), "mazepsan ta crwmata" (picked up the color-pots) exemplify sub-activities within this big event (started working). From all these series of events, only the first event is coded; as we go along the narrative line, the first event that we encounter is the event "arcisan th douleia" (started working) and this is the one that moves narrative time. The latter two do not offer any further information and they were not coded in the event line.

Look now at the following example:

- (25) Ta paidia me skummeno to kefali **akolouthhsan thn diatagh** ths mhteras tous kai **phgan** kai **katharhsan** thn kouzina.

The children resentfully **obeyed their mother's order** and went and cleaned the kitchen...
(Vaso M., adult)

The predicate "obeyed their mother's order", though a comprehensive verb, differs from the event mentioned in the previous example ("started working"). In the present case, the predicate "akolouthhsan th diatagh ths mhteras tous" (obeyed their mother's order) is taken to be of an evaluative character, in that it expresses narrator's own voice; the narrator intervenes in the description of the events to characterize the activities "phgan kai katharhsan thn kouzina" (went and cleaned the kitchen) in which the children are to be engaged; these activities are seen as the result of children's following their mother's order and, as such, provide concrete evidence of how this order was carried out. In this case, the first predicate "akolouthhsan th diatagh ths mhteras tous" (obeyed their mother's order) was not coded.

But what about the following case?

- (26) Otan loipon h kuria Fekiarh mia mera phge gia kafe sth geitwnissa tous, o Kwsths kai h Tasoula **arpaxan thn eukairia** kai mphkan sthn kouzina.

So one day when Mrs Fekiari visited a neighbour for coffee, Kostis and Tasoula **leapt at the opportunity** and went to the kitchen. (Maria P., adult)

Shall we code the verb "leapt at the opportunity" and on what reasons? Arguments can be given both for or against it. On one analysis, the predicate denotes a mental state that gives rise to the following sequence of activities. On another, this predicate can be subsumed under the pattern illustrated in the

previous example, in that the predicate expresses the narrator's interpretive account of the following activity (went to the kitchen) in which the children are engaged. I argue in favour of the latter. That the children took advantage of the absence of their mother is not an event as such but rather it is how the narrator interpreted the children's actions that followed (went to the kitchen).

6) States and Narrative Time Movement

It is generally assumed that states and activities do not move time forward except for some cases. Such exceptions are clear in the following examples which were coded in the event line.

- (27) *mphke sto paidiko dwmatio diatazontas ta paidia na katharisoun to patwma kai na mazepsoun ta pesmena koutia, kai etsi egine. Se ligo ola **htan sth thesh tous** kanontas ta paidia caroumena....*

(she) went to the children's room ordering them to clean up the floor and pick up the scattered tins, and so it was done. In a little while everything **was** in its place making the children happy... (Giannis Arv., adult)

- (28) *...kai tous leei na pane na ta katharisoun. Ta duo paidia **twra briskontai** sthn kouzina kai h Efh skoupizei kai o adelfos ths mazeuei to gluko apo to patwma..*

...and (she) asks them to go and clean up.
Now the two children **are** in the kitchen and Efi hoovers and her brother cleans the floor from the sweet.. (Stella Ts., adult)

The two verbs *einai* and *briskontai* (translated as "are" in English) examined in abstracto denote states. Yet, when they are taken within the context of a narrative sequence, as in the above examples, they clearly denote states that did not exist before but came up as the result of characters' previous activities. The adverb "twra" (now) plays an important role in our perception of narrative time movement. It essentially acts as a topic shifting device that brings into focus a new topic (children's movement from one place to the other) (for a similar account on the textual role of "now" as a topic-shifting device in American English, see Schiffirin (1987)).

Summary of the Coding Procedure

The result of the coding procedure of the narrative event line can be illustrated as this: The unit of analysis is the utterance. I first examine the type of the predicate within each utterance and, secondly, the types of forms linking each utterance to its next one.

The first task involves tracing the event line, a procedure which, in turn, involves differentiating events into those that move the narrative time forward (subsumed here under the heading "sequential event line") and those which stall the time movement ("non-sequential information"). Each of the verbs of the first case were subsequently coded according to the type of clause in which they appear (main clauses, subordinate clauses, non-finite clauses (participles)) as well as in relation to the type of tense in which they are rendered: (past, historical present tense). The coding scheme can be diagrammatically sketched as this:

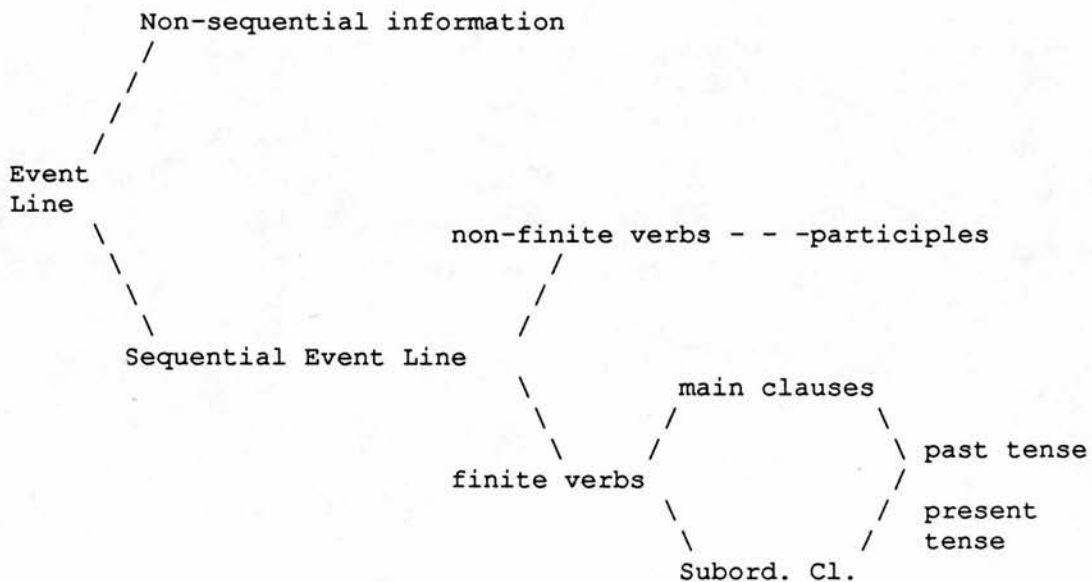


Figure 1: Illustration of the event line coding

The second task involves cataloguing the types of forms used for linking utterances to each other. These forms range from zero connectives and "and" to connectives, participles, subordinate clauses and descriptive information (DBDs). In the latest category, I include information that stalls the forward time movement. In summary, the event-linking devices are of the following type:

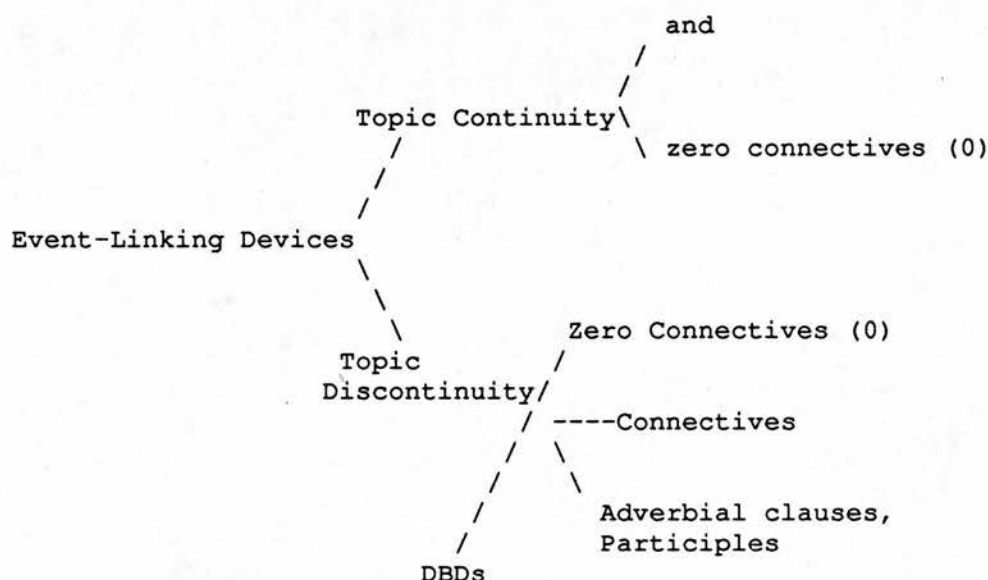


Figure 2: The types of forms coded for event-linkage

2.2.2. The Analysis of Expectations: Interviews and Responses

The production of written text is a goal-directed activity; the narrator uses language with the aim of getting something done, to achieve certain goals - in this case, to tell a story. These goals are conventionally established and they in fact constitute a defining characteristic of the discourse situation one is in. As a first step, by simply looking at the texts and due to shared understandings because of community membership, it is possible for me to judge how successfully the narrator has communicated his/her message. However, a number of fundamental issues arise with regard to the validity of this procedure, all of which stem from to the subjectivity of this line of reasoning. Consequently, rather than attempting to set standards of language appropriateness on my own, I sought to determine how other people actually respond to the texts. To secure interpretive validity, I collected the responses of people, mainly teachers, on a subset of the narrative texts (16

texts, two stories from each picture). Through this procedure I came to pinpoint patterns of congruity and disagreement across readers with regard to the strategies readers deemed "appropriate" for text structuring and, in doing so, to exemplify appropriate ways for storytelling in the Greek culture. Readers are shown to have expectations with respect to what counts as the appropriate content to be rendered in a narrative discourse situation as well as with respect to how it can be appropriately presented.

The way in which differences and indeed clashes in narrative strategies surface can be best illustrated through an example of a situation in which people differ strikingly with regard to their expectations about the way in which meaning is to be communicated in a narrative.

Dimitra is an 18-year old girl who participated in this study by contributing two picture-based stories. When readers responses were collected in the interest of interpretive validity, two different types of responses were found to have been given with regard to her story. For Thanassis (a primary school teacher, 25 years old), Dimitra had written a very good story; as the reader put it : "I am enthralled; she is a highly competent user of the language". For Maria (social worker, 25 years old), on the other hand, Dimitra had created a story "that is overly simplistic; she sounds like a small child".

It is sharing of expectations about the appropriate ways to impart information that creates the feeling of sharing meaning that underlies the comments of the first reader. Conversely, in the second case, a lack of congruity in narrative strategies led to the opposite effect: of Dimitra not being understood and her contribution not being appreciated. This finding acquires particular significance regarding the way in which the school as a social mechanism is willing to accept and respect the text-building strategies used by the children in this specific community.

2.3. Children's Texts and their Contribution to Discourse Analysis

It has long been assumed that literacy is a necessary part of socialization in industrial societies and an educational good for all. Literacy plays an important role in enabling the individual play productive roles within society and enrich his/her experience.

But what is literacy? Is it a separate form of "orality", better or inferior to it? Recent research (Tannen (1982) attacks the widely-accepted view that speaking and writing are different, if not mutually exclusive, skills. Orality and literacy are seen as not dichotomous but rather as complex, overlapping and intertwined, in the sense that speaking can employ many conventions of writing and vice versa.

In the past years, the discussion on literacy and literacy acquisition in particular has been exclusively the focus of the work of psychologists and educationalists. It is only in recent years, with the work done in the new field of Discourse Analysis (see for example the work by Anderson et al. (1984) and Brown and Yule (1983a,b,c.)) that linguists started to turn their attention to texts written by adults and children.

Martin (1987), for example, in his Ph.D thesis traced the development of cohesion in children's texts, using as his point of reference Halliday's and Hasan's scheme. Important research on children's ability to handle the narrative text has also been conducted within the story-grammar framework (Stein and Glenn (1979)). More recent work (Peterson and McCabe (1983), Wilkinson (1986)), proposes a number of different approaches (story-grammar, cohesion) that could help in capturing important points of text-structuring in children's texts. The above-mentioned work is important in that it brought into people's attention a different way of analysing children's texts. Nonetheless, it lacks a clearly articulated theory that could illuminate and give rationale to the analyses undertaken. Fundamental questions such as the following ones

- What is cohesion?
- What is coherence?
- Why is it that we should examine children's texts?
- Can children's texts be useful to linguists? Can they help Discourse Analysts understand the nature of the mechanisms underlying the organization of a text?

are never raised.

More interesting in this respect is the work undertaken by Karmiloff-Smith (1981, 1986a, 1986b) and Hickman (1982) which examines issues such as the use of anaphora in spoken narrative texts produced by children before 8 years old and which is closely tuned to the linguistic details of message construction. This line of inquiry is also found in Collins and Michaels (1986), Danielewicz (1984), Heath (1982) and Michaels and Cazden (1986).

Still in this work too, there is an overriding concern with low-level descriptive statements. There is no attempt to situate children's text in a wider pragmatic perspective and view them as texts that illustrate essential text-production mechanisms . the operation of which we are not normally aware when we examine adult texts. Developmental psychologists simply borrow ready-made frameworks whose assumptions are implicit.

The view that is proposed here and which guides the empirical analyses undertaken is that children's texts are not just important on their own right (as means of examining text-acquisition processes, for instance) but illuminating for capturing processes of language production in general and they are therefore necessary to text-linguists (for a similar point, see Comrie (1984)). Children's texts are undeveloped texts and, as such, they offer Discourse Analysts the opportunity to disentangle many mechanisms at work that give rise to coherent and cohesive texts. Of course, there is the possibility that we take undeveloped texts from adults too. The essential thing that we should bear in mind is that analysts interpret them from a different viewpoint. Starting from the assumption that the Cooperative Principle is at work, we tend to interpret violations of maxims made by the writer as attempts directed towards achieving stylistic effects. We start from the assumption that coherence can be found on a deeper level. In fact, hearers/readers by relying on general cooperative principles pinpoint deeper layers of meaning and find the underlying coherence of which a text seems to lack on a superficial level. Such assumptions cannot be made, however, for children's texts and it is for this reason that they should be used as tools by text-linguists to capture the nature of the text-building process.

Before we proceed any further, let us first be clear about the terminology and the definitions we adopt, since the terms are used in varying and contentious ways in the literature.

There are a number of definitions of the terms "cohesion" and "coherence". In this thesis, the term "cohesion" refers to surface connectivity and indicates the devices used by narrators to link a text together. The term "coherence", used in line with Schiffrin's (1987) work (who builds on the tradition of interactional sociolinguistics linked with Gumperz), refers to the way in which a text (the content rather than the linguistic form of the text) relates to a larger interpretive frame, how it fits into a recognizable schema (for cross-cultural differences in storytelling "schemata"/"frames"; see Tannen (1980)). However, as the work progresses, it will become clear that a more general notion of coherence is invoked which captures the harmony in the various ways of expression adopted by people in the verbal and non-verbal domain. As it will be stressed in the conclusion (see 8.2.), the storytelling patterns in Chalki are "coherent", i.e. harmonious with all aspects of life in this specific community. To put it simply, the way in which people in this community tell and write stories is harmonious and thus "coherent" with the way in which they dress, work in the fields or present themselves in the square.

Chapter 3

Conflicts in the Storyworld: Negotiating Truth, Identity and Performance in Greek Oral Storytelling

3.1. Types of Conflicts

As stated, the theory developed to account for the logic underlying narrative text production in Greek recognizes a plurality of pragmatic principles (capturing cognitive and social requirements). In making this claim, the theory necessarily has to admit that principles may be violated or conflict with each other. But what principles are likely to conflict? Which principle do language producers follow and which do they break? Any proposal regarding the way in which consistency in the system of narrative textual logic gets disrupted (through conflicts between maxims) and subsequently restored (through the resolution of the conflicts) would remain abstract and indeed worthless, until concrete instances are examined. Individuals, after all, conceive of their world not through abstractions but through concrete situations pertaining to their life and everyday problems.⁶ The conflicts to be discussed occur in the following realms:

- the community
- the storyworld
- the taleworld

The aim of the discussion is to establish that in using written language, narrators, and children in particular, have to take into account a different range of factors on which they do not focus while using spoken language. Simply said, in this community, the discontinuity is this: in Chalki, oral language is used for the negotiation of self, written language for the tellable presentation of a topic.

The stories told by children in Chalki consist a valuable source of data for the ethnographic investigation of how children learn to use stories for negotiating identity and how locally-salient concepts of meaning determine what to say and

how to say it. The discussion offers insight into the attainment of coherence, the negotiation of truthfulness and the role of performance as action and evaluation in the conduct of their social life. The structure emerging from the discussion illustrates the background structure with which children come to the production of written narrative texts; this is the issue of main concern in this thesis.

My analysis of the texts is grounded on the talk itself- what is actually said; intonation and paralinguistic features, although very important, are not dealt with in detail because our aim is not to present an elaborate account of oral storytelling in Greek but rather to sketch the system of ideas expressed through oral stories. Non-textual factors such as shared knowledge and local frames of interpretation are drawn on as procedures that help us make sense of what is said and figure out what lies behind the surface. (see also Polanyi, (1981a))

The analysis proceeds in the following steps:

1. I isolate the points storytellers make
2. extract a regional logic of values
3. show that the points storytellers make appear different but are in fact ordered around a core: children's stories express the community's ideas of being.

The main point is this: oral stories and storytelling reveal Chalkian world view. Life in the community in its various forms of expression (of which stories is one) reveals a system of ideas regarding individuality and sociability. The act of storytelling itself is a symbol of sociability. The content of the stories told, however, negates the social self; stories simply foreground the significance of the individual.

3.2. What to Say: Community-Based Elements of Simasia

Performance is the essential component of every aspect of life in Chalki; without it, life is meaningless. Children's stories are the epitome of this larger principle. By repeatedly stressing certain key concepts of everyday life, children's oral stories reveal a concern with simasia, an awareness of the outstanding qualities of their world. Only certain events are meaningful and it is those events that were presented.

Consider the following text:⁹

- (29) 1. Mara: Miss when I went to Hungary I crossed Danube
2. ah Hungary is very beautiful (a)
3. wherever you go you walk across Danube (b)

4. we also went to a country villa at the place where Lake Balaton is (c)
5. Fillia: did you go on your own?
6. Mara: no with Tibor and Julia (a)
7. they took us to Tibor's godmother (b)
8. and there there Lake Balaton was (c)
9. ah there was a big garden and green lawn all over the place
10. and the only thing you could see were only villas yes
11. eh during the night we suffered from mosquito-bites
12. Fillia: really? <laughter>
13. Mara: from the lake uhm
14. Fillia: but why do you have such a long break? has the bell rang? are breaks usually so long?
15. Christina: the first break... it is half an hour twenty minuties... something like that
16. Mara: now at any minute it must
17. Christina: we have a good time
18. Mara: Miss, let me tell you my bro my fa my mother bought a set of plates from Hungary..hand-made
19. Christina: I lost my hairpin
20. Mara: she brought me a handmade blouse dad
21. Christina: here it is I found it
22. Mara: dad a handmade blouse for mom too..my father went to gypsies as well
23. Fillia: uhm
24. Mara: I like Hungary anyway
25. Christina: Bulgaria is beautiful too and especially Pa(m)porovo (a)
26. Sofia is too trafficky (b)
27. but I can't I can't say that it is not beautiful it is very beautiful (c)
28. there is a hotel and when you go in doors



open on their own they are automatic (d)

29. Fillia: yes, yes they are automatic there are similar doors in Athens as well at the airport

Mara and Christina were taking charge of the classroom that week and they were recorded because I used to have the tape-recorder running all the time without intending to analyze this conversation. Mara, the main storyteller, navigates through a number of interruptions to get her story told. The structure of the whole conversation with the storytelling blocks situated in it can be presented as follows:

Story World		Real World
Event Line	Description	
1	2	
	3	
4		
5		
6		
7		
	8	
	9	
	10	
11		
13		
		14
		15
		16
		17
18		
		19
20		
		21
22		
23		
	24	
	25	
	26	
	27	
28		
	29	

"Miss" is a device frequently used by Mara to get my attention and gain the floor for an extended turn. Mara begins her story with what she regards a startling piece of information, that she went abroad and crossed a well-known river. Non-one seems to respond to her. I do not say anything so Mara tries to intensify the significance of her account by providing more details about the city and their trip. When I intervene to inquire about something in (5): "did you go on your own"? she

gives the piece of information ("no with Tibor and Julia") but does not lose her thread of the story; in fact, she takes this opportunity to reframe what she was about to say increasing in this way the relevance of her piece of information, in the following way:

M:		where lake Balaton is
		/ \
F: did you go on your own?		
M: no with Tibor and Julia (a)		/ \
	(transition to storyworld)	
	they took us to Tibor's grandmother (b)	/ \
		and there there Lake Balaton was..... (c)

In her account of their problems with mosquitos, both me and Christina respond by laughing; since Mara finds us responding to a piece of information in her story, she explains it ("from the lake") and affirms it (uhm). Contrary to the use of context in the letters examined in (3), (4), and (5), Mara draws on the context for a different purpose: mentioning concrete elements of the country would enhance her knowledgeability. One who has visiting Budapest knows that Danube is the center of the city while Lake Balaton a much recommended country-resort. By mentioning these two concrete places, Mara presents herself as a trustworthy narrator while at the same time she interweaves two different ways of viewing the country: the beautiful and the nasty bits of it. A river gives a country beauty; the city is beautiful; and the country is beautiful but only during the day; during the night these impressions are erased.

(14), (15), (16) and (17) form a part with a different structure in relation to the preceding one; in terms of the information they convey, they belong to real-life. I wondered what had happened since I wanted to collect further material from the class and I had found the break too long. Both Mara and Christina perform this real-life transfer and comment on it. Mara, however, hasn't finished her story yet. So, after the regress has closed, she gets back to narrating by mentioning the things they bought. Christina interrupts her by performing a real-life regress again in (19) and (21) and looks under the desks trying to find her hairpin but Mara does not allow this to interrupt her showing off. She comes in (22) with what she projects as an important piece of information, that her dad went to gipsies. No-one

seems to respond to that; I just show agreement through backchannelling in (23) but not enthusiasm; the piece of information is not regarded as newsworthy since gypsies have been leaving in the nearby village and they are a known population.

Christina who has been listening to Mara picks up the lead and provides information about a country she went. Look at the close relation between Christina's initiation of the story and that of Mara's:

Mara: Hungary is very beautiful (2a)

Christina: Bulgaria is very beautiful too (25)

Similarly to Mara, Christina presents herself as an adept source of information about the country; not only does she list different places (Pamporovo, Sofia) but, most crucially, as a knowledgeable source, conveys her own opinion about the quality of life in each of them. Christina abruptly ends her story when I cut off her enthusiasm by pointing out that the piece of information she presents as newsworthy (automatic doors) is not that newsworthy after all.

The structure of the main story told, Mara's story, builds on elements of *simasia* as follows:

1) First Level

Abstract:

Hungary is very beautiful

Narrative

Places of Hungary -	Dunabe	/ \	elements of <i>simasia</i>
	Lake Balaton		
Presents -	mom: plates		
	Mara: blouse	/	
	dad: blouse	/	

Coda:

I like Hungary anyway

But what is the point in Mara's story? Why is it significant for Mara to recount it and what does this story tell us about life in the community?

The underlying dichotomy in Mara's story is that between insiders and outsiders. Her story builds on the tension between the closed world of the community and the

possibilities of transgressing it. Mara, in essence, compares two world views: living in the community versus crossing its boundary. It is not that the new place is necessarily good (both girls are quick to point out the bad aspects of life in other countries); it is rather the act of movement that has importance, the transgression of the closed community (see also Fernandez, (1986)). Going out of the closed circle is an element of meaning in that one enriches him/herself with new possibilities. "His/her eyes open" to a different way of making sense of things. This experience makes one richer. The further away one goes, the fewer the obligations and the problems, the more s/he knows, the freer and better person s/he becomes.

2) Second Level

Here versus Abroad

Inside versus Outside

Knowledge also comes always from outside. When one enters the circle of the community from another place, s/he may help break the coherence of the community world by making people realize the possibilities of the outside: how to behave, how to address people, how to speak. In the light of this, consider the following text:

- (30) 1. Barbara: during winter time when their mother is in the village she takes care of them she helps them with their reading but during summers for instance they live with their grandmother and grandfather and they speak to them somehow different
2. Fillia: they talk to them in the dialect
3. B: very much in the dialect. let's say a word... they are building a house in Morfocori and my cousin showed me around it she is in the third grade she is two years younger than I and she says this Z
4. Dimitris: <laughter>
5. B: this room is ts' Roulas this is ts' Giann' this is d'ko m' diko mou you should say d'ko m' she insists
6. F: with whom the children are staying plays major role...
7. B: my aunt Xanthoula their mother's name is Xanthoula and my uncle Nikos her husband speak

better and they are teaching them when they are there they are teaching them how to speak but they are spending most of the time with their grandmother and afterwards

<.....some lines of additional information bringing the story to a close>

8. F: the teacher plays an important role but more how much your mother helps you because if the teacher has more than thirty children in the class and is allowed ten minutes to comment on your compositions and there are others who are noisy something else happens here or there you should take what the teacher tells you and go back and discuss it with your mother.....

The interlocutors are Dimitris, a 10 year-old boy who participated in this study, his sister Barbara, an 11 year-old girl and Fillia. In the pilot study I had conducted I had praised Dimitris' narrative skill with the result to get a lot of stories by him. We became friends and Dimitris used to visit me everytime I went to Greece. In this case, Dimitris has come to my house bringing along his sister Barbara to meet me.

Barbara proved to be a great storyteller. In this excerpt, we were discussing the role of language in children's educational achievement and Barbara picks up the point to tell me about a cousin of hers who speaks the dialect.

Apart from the metalinguistic significance the story has (for revealing children's realization of the significance of language to one's status), the story is an instance used by Barbara to indicate her differentiation from a particular group. The use of language, an element with inherent meaning, unifies and differentiates people into groups. The use of the dialect implies some kind of conceptual inferiority assigning its speakers to a lower status.

Dimitris laughs in (4) anticipating the story. So, by having someone else asserting the truth of the same event, Barbara's status as a truthful storyteller is established right from the beginning.

The point in Barbara's story is to be found in the quoted speech in (5). The part is characterized by play brought about by repetition and rhyme. Parallelism, i.e. repetition with systematic variation, is developed at a range of different levels: phonological, syntactic and thematic as follows:

1) First Level: Language as a means of simasia

Standard

non-standard

this room is

ts' Roulas

this is

ts' Giann'

this is

- -|-> d'ko m'

diko mou - - - - - /

| you should say

|--- d'ko m'
she insists

Through the manipulation of parallelism and recurrence, a word is singled out which serves as a pivot around which the standard versus non-standard differences are elucidated. By casting the characters' exchange through contrastive forms, not only does Barbara single out the pronunciation differences but invokes in this way a joking frame. Repetition serves to make salient her point. Phonetic play is used as a means for alluding at the prestige the use of language has; by recreating the cultural world, Barbara aligns herself with the prestigious group, the group that uses the standard language. Being able to pinpoint and criticize someone else's mistakes makes her knowledgeable and, therefore, better than her. Through her story she does not simply criticize a specific person but a model: she presents a concrete formulation of a cultural symbol, the "peasant", distancing at the same time herself from it.

What is the point in this story? Consider it in relation to a different story by Barbara (to be examined as (40):

- (31) B: there are some girls in my class who address everyone in the singular and even the people we see only once a girl who lives next door talks to my mother in the singular she doesn't I haven't heard her to say Mrs.. Mrs X let's say... alright she uses Mrs. for the teacher because it is school but for no-one else because...a boy.. the other day we were talking with Mrs. Vana next door she tells us Barbara why are you using the plural for instance why are you calling me Mrs. Vana only you and Gigi I heard using that. I was brought up my mother was working home and there were customers coming and not all of them were aunts of mine and my mother taught me to talk to them in the plural the acquaintances and sometimes and when I talk to my mother in the plural..for instance why

don't you wash the dishes I say of course she says
I want you to call me in the singular as for friends
as for sisters probaby because my mother didn't
have a sister and she doesn't have whom to visit and
as we are sitting together we talk to each other we
open encyclopedias...my mother has corrected us a lot
of times when we talk and she tells us to use the
standard all the time to talk politely she tells us
many things

Consider also the following excerpt of a letter:

(32) nea apo pou na ta mathw mesa edw me th giagia eutucws ecei
kathe bradu ellhnikh tainia kai pernaei ligo h wra

where could I learn news from? here inside with the
grandmother fortunately every night there is a Greek film
on TV and time passes by

Look at the gradual closeness of space and the losing of contact with outside
world, which is also invoked in Barbara's story (30).

here: community

inside: house

grandmother: old generation

2) Second Level

Old generation - Inside - no knowledge

New generation - Outside - knowledge

Grandparents and parents are not concrete people; they are categories, encapsulating different ways of thinking about the world; both represent and are constituted through conflict and complementarity. Grandparents are the expressions of love and caring but backwardedness; parents are the expressions of the new world, of the way knowledge should be presented.

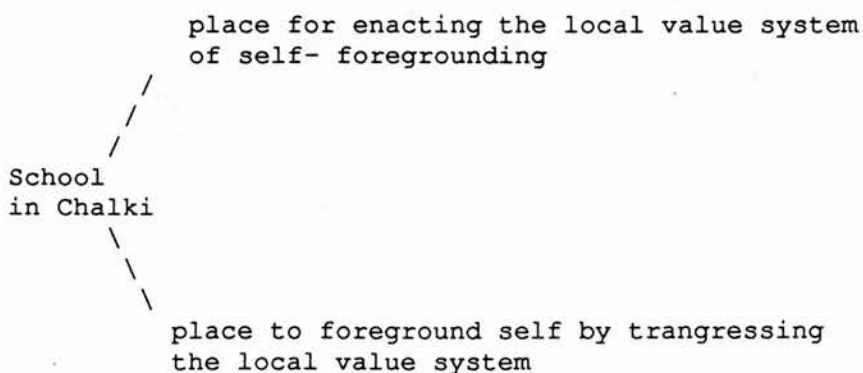
The semantic oppositions isolated so far make better sense if integrated within a system regarding contrastive ways of being. These oppositions simply express the tension between two models entertained by Modern Greeks, the "peasant" and the "educated". These are the two faces of national Greek identity, giving rise to self-criticism and self-foregrounding respectively. Chalkian conceptions of "the

educated" is an abstraction, a complex of ideas and values used by the villagers to make intelligible sense of the relation of their community with the outside world. People in the community are peasants, those living in the town "educated". The model which defines who the "educated people" are, how they talk and how they behave is in tension with the essence of life in Chalki. (see Basso (1979) for Indian conceptions of the "Whiteman").

The major means of differentiating between these two models was initially high-school and University education. In the period after World war II with increasing urbanization and the expansion of educational facilities, the gap between the peasantry and the educated began to blur with the result that the earlier school-related contrast to be transformed into a struggle for finding new means for foregrounding identity. One of the means not easily available to peasants is trips abroad and use of standard language. The two stories told by Mara and Barbara aim at nothing but to construct the tension between these two models and identify themselves with the educated.

School as a Context for Self-Foregrounding

A most interesting means by which the children seek to establish and substantiate their identities is by telling stories about school. School is an important conversational resource because school is a focal element for enacting Chalkian ideology. School is both a place to enact the local system and the place to transgress it. One acquires significance both by foregrounding the self but at the same time by leaving the community behind. The school is the central mechanism for attaining this double-level differentiation: as far as you are in the community, to stand out by enacting the local value system and to stand out because of leaving this system behind (school is a mechanism to transform you from a "peasant" to an "educated" person).



Given this, it is not surprising that school-related subjects constitute an important conversational resource. The motto around which all the stories build is as follows: the way to enhance your face and articulate difference is to establish that you are a good pupil; to achieve that, you need to show knowledgeability and responsibility. In the light of this, consider the following text:

- (33)
1. Mara: If we do not know something we ask him and he says..eh this should be written this way this is a mistake and if we want to ask him in a word what kind of "i" and "o" to put he answers us
 2. Fillia: does he respond this way to the good or to all pupils the same?
 3. Mara: what
 4. Fillia: does he help the good pupils
 5. George: to whom will he respond...to you
 6. Fillia: tell me a bad pupil
 7. Mara: Achilleas Kokkinoulis ah, let me tell you... some children in my class haven't learnt to write the word "einai" (there is) with "ei" I take Kokkinouli as an example... if Kokkinoulis asks sir the word "einai" what kind of "ei" does it take the teacher will tell him eh, bre³ Kokkinouli don't you know even that? the teacher is not going to tell him all pupils will put up their hands me, Christina, Nikoletta all the children and the teacher will tell us eh guys he doesn't know the easiest thing? let him try and find it on his own this he will tell us

Mara in (1) describes the situation in her class and the help they get from the teacher. I have reservations about the accuracy of this account and ask Mara whether there is a difference between teacher's treatment of the good versus bad pupils, as I believe it to be the case. George agrees and collaborates with me to challenge his sister. (4), (5) and (6) have the purpose of helping Mara focusing on our perspective. Mara tries to defend the accuracy of her claim by presenting a story around a typical behaviour of one of her classmates.

Mara begins her story by assuming the role of the person who has information to give "let me tell you", preempting in this way that her turn will be long. Dialogue and vivid scene description are Mara's characteristics of narrative style. The events are cast within a story-telling framework in which different threads are interwoven. Direct speech has the purpose of transforming the audience from a passive recipient

of information to a vicarious participant in an experience, bridging the gap between the actual event and the storytelling event by recreating it to the audience. This footing change (Goffman, (1981)) is also indicated in the use of the historical present. The structure built out of the integration between report and dialogue is shown below:

Achilleas K.

ah, let me tell you.

Some children in my class haven't learnt to write the word "einai" with "ei". I take K. as an example.

If K., asks

sir, the word "einai
what kind of "ei" does it take?

the teacher will tell him:

Eh, bre K. don't you even know that?

The teacher is not going to tell him.

all pupils will put up their hands, me,
Christina,
Nikoletta, all the children

and the teacher will tell us:

Eh, guys, he doesn't know the easiest thing? let him leave him to try and find it on his own

this he will tell us

I suggest that Mara's story works as a boast. Mara's use of her classmate as a resource for an accurate account of what is going on in her classroom has been challenged. Mara tries through her story to reject the criticism by the use of specific forms. Look the transition from "some children do not know" to "all the children will put their hands up", the adjective "the easiest thing" and the enumeration "me, Christina, Nikoletta..." with "me" first.

To see how Mara uses the story to her own advantage, let us examine another story told by her:

- (34) 1. Fillia: when you finish writing do you read again your composition to see if it sounds all right?
2. George: yes if it sounds all right and for (putting) the accents

3. Mara: me too
4. George: but more if it sounds good
5. Mara: me if I have put
6. George: on a rare occasion if I have not put the accents
on the words Miss brings it back to me and says
George look at this
7. Mara: me if I have put
8. George: but if it is something related to a whole
sentence no she does not give it back to us
9. Mara: if I have written "gliko" as "bliko" for
instance if I have used a different letter at
the beginning I always do things like that well
only once I made such a mistake and she says bre
Mara <laughter> what's this what are you writing
here I say I write "gliko" what is this I read
it again eh I read this word again to see if I
had written it correctly

I had read George one of the stories with which he participated in this study and I discuss with him his techniques for writing. Look how the strategies of contest, a pervasive element of the social interaction and life in Chalki, are reflected on the surface level of conversation. The context where Mara's story is situated is revealing.

Mara gets in (3) to express her agreement although I was interacting with George predominantly. Later on in (5), however, she remembers of a piece of information that is relevant to the discussion and tries unsuccessfully to take the floor. When she finds that George had finished his contribution and thus the floor could be free, Mara gets in again by repeating in (7) the piece of information she had already given in (5) to be unsuccessful again. Neither I nor George seem to be noticing her. Mara's attempts to situate her story in the conversational exchange progress through a number of steps to enable her locate her talk so that it is received as intended: with each attempt to initiate her story by repeating the same piece of information, she tries to increase the chances so that her own contribution (and not only George's) would be noticed and appropriately responded to. Mara's attempts, however, were not responded to; their function as proposals for story was ignored by me who treated them as disruptions of the exchange currently in focus.

Beginning a story, thus, is not always easy. Since narratives usually occupy more than one sentence, the problem for Mara is to indicate her need for an extended turn. Although Mara presents what she regards an introduction to a story, her contribution is not treated as a story opening. "If I have put" refers to a general case rather than to a specific instance that would signal storytelling. It is

now that I read and analyze all Mara' stories that I see that this is Mara's narrative style: to open the story with a general statement, move to a specific case that illustrates the value of this general statement and close the specific case through a general statement again.

When the interactional exchange between George and Fillia has come to a close, Mara gets the floor without waiting me to ask her and gives her account. Mara presents a most elaborate account of her experience by aptly interweaving different strands of information. Not only does she present the sequence of the events but also recreates her feelings and laughs at the point of the story, her inattentiveness which leads to joking implications: "bliko" (sweet) bears similarity to "blakas" (dolt). The story contains dialogue, present tense, nonverbal means, forms that lead to vividness and involvement.

Stating, however, that "I always do things like that" serves only to lower Mara's status as a good and responsible person. Soon Mara realizes that and is quick to point out "well, *only once*". She proceeds then to enact the exchange. At first she undertakes the narrator's voice and presents what had happened by stopping to comment on her account; She then undertakes the teacher's voice and enacts a dialogue between them as it could have happened.

Consider now an example which manipulates the moto "foreground self through lowering others" in a different way. The story, although having the potential for threatening the status of the speaker, is told in a way that rekeys its original function.

- (35) Mara: miss once I went school somehow unprepared it was one my mom and I tried for such a long time and couldn't learn the lessomeh then. I.. bre Mara how are you going to go school tomorrow? I say mom if I go school tomorrow write to me because I was afraid to go unprepared in case the teacher asks me to tell the lesson and tells me... Mara leave these aside but fortunately the day after that we went for a walk and a burden was lifted up

"Miss" is a device frequently used by Mara to gain my attention. After achieving that, Mara begins her story by offering certain background information by way of orientation: "once I went school somehow unprepared".

The maximally reported act is in the coda: fortunately she was not caught up. The connective "but" serves to indicate not only violation of expectations but serves to give the coda a special role: the coda becomes reflexive: it rekeys what has come before. In this process, the antecedent portion of the narrative, which has a built-in context for the punch line, (that she was found unprepared and had a hard time in

the class), is itself recontextualized: nothing happened, she was not caught up after all, she maintained her face.

3.3. Challenges in Storytelling: The Role of Truth

As showed, stories told by children in this community function as instruments for identity-building, they are used as means of indicating differentiation from the rest people (drawing boundaries). The very act of telling stories on such topics builds on an implicit solidarity: one could not dare foreground him/herself unless his/her interlocutors go along with it. Stories are the result and the means of establishing solidarity.

In their attempt, however, for face-enhancing, there was found at times a built-in impulse to exaggerate the power of one's knowledge through hyperbole. Narrators could slightly emphasize things to their own advantage. Concern with enhancing face, however, could run counter to truth. Which one would outwin the other? How did participants respond? By attending to the conversation as carried out after a storytelling instance, we can get information about storytelling criteria.

(36) Dimitris: Achilleas eh.. he discusses everything with his mom and then he tells us that he was the first who finished everything everything everything and we ask him Achillea have you prepared these with your mother? no he says but in order not to be heard they study at midnight at 12 o'clock

Barbara: how do you know that? (a) they may not prepare his homework together (b) but he might had got an inspiration (c) not at 12 o'clock (d)

Dimitris: yes, yes, yes, (a) but he can't finish so quickly (b) (he is) the first one (c) in ten minutes (d) no (e) in five minutes he is ready (f) how can he think so quickly? (g)

Fillia: if this happens all the time does this happen all the time?

Dimitris: yes

Barbara: we know that his mother sometimes helps him, Achillea, always and maybe they prepare the next lesson together but not at 12 o'clock as Dimitris says because (if this happens) at 12 o'clock then he can't get up in the morning and I sleep I have a siesta at night I go to bed at 12..1 o'clock and despite that again I can't get up in the morning I sleep my grandmother tries to wake me up she tickles me she pinches my nose and even so I still can't get up

Barbara and Dimitris discuss that a friend of theirs, Achilleas, prepares his homework and the exercises of the following lesson with the help of his mother. Barbara follows the story and agrees with it but intervenes and questions some of its points that seem to her to exaggerate and deviate from the truth. Her first question aims at restoring accuracy by questioning the sources of his claim: "how do you know that"? and offers a reason: "he might had got an instant inspiration". With her second utterance "not at 12 o'clock", Barbara returns again to the issue of credibility. Dimitris insists on his own version of the story "yes, yes" which are pronounced quickly and decisively. At the same time he considers that Barbara's account has plausibility. The third "yes" is pronounced reluctantly but Dimitris returns to his own viewpoint by listing several reasons and adding details that would qualify as valid reasons. Look at the gradual intensification built out of his five utterances:

1. he can't finish *that quickly*
2. (he is) the first one
(intensification of the adverb "that quickly")
3. in ten minutes
(detailed account of the time Achilleas takes to complete the exercises)
4. no
(rejection of the first rough estimate)
5. in five minutes he is ready
(shorter time which accords to his first claim "that quickly" and is so startling that properly qualifies the accuracy of his criticism)

Look now at the structure of the dialogue:

B: how do you know? (1)	
	he might had got an inspiration (2)
D: yes, yes (1)	
	yes (2)
but (3)	
he can't finish that quickly (4)	
how can he think so quickly (5)	

```
B: challenge (1)
      |
      |
D: insist on (1)
   his account
      |
      |
      |
      aligns with the plausibility of
the challenging reason (2)

rejection of
challenge (3)

returns to his own
account again (4)

reason for the validity
of his own story (5)
```

Consider also a highly-similar exchange testifying to the importance of sticking to the real-world facts.

66

the price I will not charge her free of charge

Christina: well you will surely become rich if they are poor

Mara: yes but if the client is rich I will tell her no Mrs it is impossible Mrs to give me ten drachmas not ten drachmas two thousand drachmas a delivery uhm of course

Christina: but are you going to charge two thousand drachmas a delivery? since a jacket costs ten thousand drachmas

Fillia: <laughter>

The two 8 year-old girls, Mara and Christina, come from rich parents and they are the stars of the class. Mara was telling me a story about an aunt of hers who is an obstetrician but whose son wants to become a teacher to have long holidays and not be tied down to a hospital. In contrast, Mara and Christina want to become doctors and study abroad, both high-status aims. Not every one can afford studying abroad; in addition, becoming a doctor is a job that gives you status.

In this excerpt, Mara and Christina discuss about how they are going to become rich: they will charge the deliveries inordinately. I was upset about the way they were socialized (the us versus them distinction) and intervene to make them realize that there are poor people who are entitled to have children. Mara agrees with that and changes her motto. Christina intervenes making clear that Mara's aim will not be achieved this way. When Mara tries to find a balance in her future behaviour towards her clients by listing what she is going to do (charging nothing to the poor, a lot of money to the rich), Christina intervenes to help her stick to the facts: the figures Mara gives are not valid. By drawing an analogy from the real-world, Christina challenges the accuracy of a piece of information and helps Mara judge her story according to real-life facts.

These cases of natural story-telling in free conversations between Greek school-children seem to testify to a conception of story-telling as the outcome of telling a true event. Truth is the main issue over which the children fight. The details and the explanations must be gotten right, otherwise one risks losing his/her face and solidarity breaks. In the examples so far, the challenge was resolved with closing the topic under contention.

Cross-cultural evidence testifies similarities in the way in which conflicts between different goals (truth and slight divergence from it) are resolved in stories told by schoolchildren in Uganda. According to Nabasuta (1983),

The children would ask the narrator to stop if they thought she was telling the story badly which usually consisted of forgetting episodes, not knowing how to imitate different animal characters or "telling lies" about a character or situation. At this point someone who thought she had the "true" story and appropriate language took over the narrative. (1983, p.47) (the emphasis is mine)

Social factors may play an important role in conditioning the balance between truth and lying. Look how the agonistic nature of interaction in Chalki may resolve such conflicts:

- (38)
1. Rina: the teacher told me she says that when the children write compositions I ask them she says and read aloud three-four good compositions and three-four not so good
 2. Fillia: I see for them to understand...
 3. Rina: and they judge them on their own and they say this is Achilleas' composition this is George's this is Charilaos' they know that this is Achilleas'
 4. Achilleas: today she read aloud Georgia's about aeroplanes
 5. Fillia: Georgia who?
 6. Achilleas: Georgia Katigianni
 7. Rina: isn't she a good pupil?
 8. Baggelia: Papalaos'
 9. Achilleas: a blonde girl don't you know her?
 10. Thanassis: whose?
 11. Baggelia: Papalaos' granddaughter
 12. Rina: yours? has she read yours?
 13. Thanassis: what do you say Papalaos' granddaughter Kostas' granddaughter
 14. Rina: George's? has she read George's composition? Charilaos' one?
 15. Achilleas: I don't know
 16. Rina: they don't know she reads aloud compositions she doesn't say names you understand? each one to find his own composition
 17. Rina: Fillia's compositions I was writing them. I

was writing Fillia's compositions

The interlocutors are Rina (31 years old), her son, Achilleas, (10 years old), her mother, Baggelia (57), Fillia (25) and the latter's father, Thanassis (60). The conversation took place in Fillia's house; Baggelia is Fillia's aunt and Rina her second cousin. Two more aunts of hers and her mother were present but did not participate in the interaction at this point.

The excerpt cited is embedded within a conversation about school. I had taped oral narratives at school and Baggelia was asking me about the performance of her grandson. Rina was worried about the order: I had called the children in a pair and Achilleas was called in the second pair. Why was that? Is George, who was called in the first pair, better? I tried to convince them that the order was pure chance; moreover, Achilleas was called with Charilaos who is also a very good pupil. The discussion ended by consolidating one point: Achilleas is a good pupil. Although not said, Rina was not satisfied with the great empathy I had with Dimitris (the stories by Dimitris and Barbara were discussed above). Kinship means solidarity, give and share and I seem to have run contrary to this by not attending to Achilleas as much as to Dimitris who is not a relative.

In the cited excerpt, Rina tries to intensify this point by foregrounding her son through a different instance: compositions. The conversation has the following structure:

Rina's story:

although the teacher does not
reveal names, the children
know that the good composition
she reads aloud is Achilleas'

interchange:

a specific instance at school

Rina's conclusion:

the children do not know to
whom the composition the
teacher reads aloud belongs

Rina's Statement:

Contest over Fillia's
abilities

In the interchange, Achilleas gives a piece of information "I do not know to whom the compositions belonged" which does not accord to the point in Rina's preceding story. Look the contrast:

Rina: they (the classmates) *know* that this is
 Achilleas' (composition) (3)

Achilleas: I (as a classmate) *do not know* (15)

Rina: they *don't know* (16)

Consider how different levels of information can be enacted: The interchange was based on the distinction Us versus Them; the interlocutors are in one group with the same viewpoint with regard to a specific topic: Achilleas, George and Charilaos are the good pupils. This would allow them to criticize all the rest. Although the interlocutors are seen as a group, Rina knows that the group is not solid. Fillia has her own judgements and she showed explicitly her affiliation with Dimitris. The contention over truth brings a further division that lowers her point. Rina, in order to foreground her lost face, embarks on a statement that would make Fillia lose her own face. In primary school, she was helped by Rina. In this way, she enacts a different kind of contest. When the storytelling criteria are breached, she exits the storyworld to embark on a contest over identity (but for a discussion on the use of argument as sociability, see Schiffirin (1984)).

The ways through which contest is expressed in storytelling in Chalki is illustrated thus:

Taleworld:

Contest over Story Characteristics:
 Me versus You as a truthful narrator

Storyworld:

Contest over Identity:
 Me versus You as a Person

Figure 3: Conflicts in Greek Oral Storytelling

The really aggressive response is made clear when compared with hunting tall stories and ordinary dog stories, for instance, told by American storytellers.

The traditional American ideal demands, if not absolute honesty in business transactions, at least the maintenance of the public fiction that the participants are telling the truth. Thus lying does not accord with the public construction of a

dog-trading transaction, nor is it consistent with the actual understanding of those who consider a dog trade straight business, not a game..... (1986, p.27)

The interesting and noteworthy thing about the sociable storytelling of hound-dog men is that, although it is strongly recognized as susceptible to lying, the lying is overwhelmingly licensed as part of the fundamental ethos of sociability. To call another man a liar in this context, then, is to threaten his "face", with some risk and no possible advantage to oneself; whereas to give apparent acceptance to his accounts is to store up interactional credit toward the unchallenged acceptance of one's own tales. (p.22)

Challenge can be expressed not only through language but also through silence. Consider, for instance, my pattern of responses with the children. Contrary to the storytelling situation with Dimitris and Barbara in (30), in conversations I had with Mara and Christina (see (29) for instance) I do not initiate topics. Not only do I leave the two girls give their account but I do not seem eager to keep the talk going on. So, Mara has to conclude rather hastily by stating her point clearly: "I like Hungary *anyway*" whereas I interrupt Christina's story dismissing it as not newsworthy. Why did this happen? The real reason for this is to be found in my mother's flippant remark. While I was talking with the children and later listening to the tapes, she caught snippets of the conversation and remarked: "Mara is similar to Kate. They just want to keep the floor to themselves. Mingling truth, lies is the same for them; just to be them and not others".

What does this mean? Mara, as I see it now, was telling me, after all, a true story. Yes indeed, but this was not my impression at the moment. On the contrary. I had found both Mara and Christina too selfish, chatting away about themselves. I did not interpret the stories as stories i.e. in terms of storytelling criteria but as means of projecting a certain persona. I was contesting the image they were presenting through language, without saying so. In fact, self foregrounding is the basic feature of the general discourse of this community. Mara and Christina just instantiate the local discourse; the difference with the other children is that Mara and Christina have internalized it far too early with the ensuing benefit of standing out of the class.

But if performance (i.e. tellable use of language) does indeed count, why was it not appreciated at the time? It seems I was operating with locally-based storytelling criteria. Does non-performance count then? Performance does count but it is not given significance neither is it commented upon. This result corroborates findings from Israeli children but runs counter to patterns of responses American children get in which performance (i.e. way of using language) is on the par with content (Blum-Kulka, (1990)). In Chalki, the children are corrected when they use a non-standard form but the majority of them is not provided with explicit instruction regarding the use of language. Language is seen as a means to say something, not as an autonomous object to be reflected upon and talked about.

Let us summarize: Empirical results of Greek oral stories demonstrate that storytelling does incorporate conflicts brought about by contradictory requirements postulated by different principles. The first point to be made about this complexity is that it reflects the complex structure of storytelling reality itself in this community. Any attempt to deny this complexity by trying to derive all storytelling requirements in one simple way from one principle (alligning, for instance, with Sperber and Wilson's (1986) advocate) incurs the difficulty of abstracting from and idealizing reality. But, on the other hand, if storytelling requirements are left as they are at this stage they resemble an unrelated jumble, with the consequence that structure would be all together denied not only to storytelling but also to life in this community, since storytelling is nothing but the reflection of its patterns. If such a rational order of storytelling goals cannot be established, then storytelling is left with the arbitrariness generated by the reliance on chance choices and the documented judgements and participant reactions would not be accounted for. In addition, by accepting unresolved conflicts and thus inconsistencies, we permit that our theory has weak explanatory power. This would also ignore our basic postulate, the grounding of text production into rational human action: rational people would make an order out of a jumble. To this end, it is necessary that we account for both aspects of narrative text production that surfaced through this empirical work, i.e. both for the complexity of storytelling and its underlying unity of structure.

The unity that narrative textual logic propounds must then be complex in order to capture the storytelling reality in this community but in a systematic way that would do justice to certain rational orders of priority and posteriority of various storytelling goals found to be used by children and adults.

Given this, the results of this discussion can be summarized as follows:

(39)

A1: Face and Truth

oral narrative text production in Greece is a process during which language producers guided by sociocultural expectations establish an order of priority among a set of goals regarding: what to say (events that would foreground self) and how to say it (stick to the truth)

In Chalki, the storytelling experience centers around the production of conformity to this structure. Oral storytelling stresses the significance of this structure in every act of enacting it. But are there cases where stories are expressing new ways of rendering the same world? This is the topic of the following sections: the relation of storytelling principles (Face and Truth are two examples) in spoken versus written language.

Written and spoken language are regarded to refer "not merely to different mediums but to partially different systems of morphology, syntax and vocabulary" (Miller (1990), p.1). I would add that oral and written language differ in people's expectations regarding what is a meaningful way to report experience. Different elements are given attention to each time and this makes the task of text production a particularly difficult one not only for children but also for adults as well. What is important for spoken language users is to "make their point". It is embarrassing to say the narrator that he had not managed to make his point, he was not understood or that the audience was bored. Simplicity of structure documented in spoken language (see Miller (1990) and Milroy (1985) for discussion on this issue regarding English and Russian and standard-non-standard language) is not focused upon in everyday informal interaction. Surely, there are different ways of making a point; the way one uses language, the latching of styles brings together and separates people (see Tannen (1984)) for the interactional consequences differences in conversational style have). But style (i.e. how you use language) is conditioned by cultural- and social factors, you simply do not stop the interaction to reflect on your style unless it is a formal case, interview etc. (these cases occupy the fuzzy boundary of spoken and written language).

It is therefore preferable to conceptualize spoken and written language as systems differing in terms of relative prominence assigned to different principles (involvement with audience versus non-involvement). The fragmented syntactic structure or the different focalizing elements are instantiations of these aims.

On the contrary, it was found that in Greek culture, it is structure, how you say things (use of subordinate clauses, participles etc.), more than content that is given prominence in written text production. The types of decisions one has to make are different and, as will be shown in chapter 4, center on the quantity and manner of information presentation.

To establish the ground for the following discussion, let us examine an oral narrative Barbara delivered (cited before as (31)) in terms of its structure.

- (40) Barbara:
1. there are some girls in my class who address everyone in the singular and even the people they meet only once
 2. a girl who lives next door talks to my mother in the singular
 3. <she doesn't>
 4. I haven't heard her to say Mrs Mrs X let's say all right she uses Mrs for the teacher because it is school but for no-one else

because.

5. <A boy>
6. the other day we were talking with Mrs. Vana next door she tells us Barbara why are you using the plural form for instance why are you calling me Mrs. Vana I heard only you and Gigi using that.
7. <I was brought up>
8. my mother was working home and there were women coming and not all of them were aunts of mine and my mother taught me to talk to them in the plural
9. the acquaintances
10. <and sometimes>
11. and when I talk to my mother in the plural.. for instance why don't you wash the dishes I say of course she says I want you to talk me in the singular as for friends as for sisters
12. <probably because my mother didn't have a sister and she doesn't have whom to visit>
13. and as we are sitting together we talk to each other we open encyclopedias. My mother has corrected us a lot of times when we talk and she tells us to talk correctly all the time to talk politely she tells us many things

There are pieces of information which are initiated (see (3.)), the definite phrase in (5.) but are left undeveloped as well as side-constraints (see 7. and 10.), expansions of previous text (12.) which do not have any direct connection with the topic (for the role of detail in Greek oral storytelling, see Tannen (1989)). Despite this lack of syntactic integration at some points, Barbara impressed me as a highly competent user of language.

And if one would argue that this claim is based on a child's text, consider the fragmented character of the following example coming from spoken, informal language of educated Russians, cited and discussed in Miller (1990) as follows:

- (41) Ja na ulice xoroso projdus
I-on-street- (is) nice - will go for a walk (1st person, sg)

The discussion is as follows:

There are two clauses: "ja projdus" ('I will go for a walk') and 'na ulice xoroso' ('outside is nice'). One dependency is clear enough, since the first person, singular 'projdus' can only combine with 'ja'. From the context it is clear that 'na ulice' combines with 'xoroso', but in principle it could combine with *projdus*. In context, then, the clause boundaries are clear, but one clause interrupts the other *at what is an impermissible position in Russian* and the relationship between the clauses is vague: "if it is good" or "because it is good" are both possible interpretations. (p.6) (the emphasis is mine)

Oral Storytelling in Chalki

Stories:

means of reporting locally-significant elements

Function of Stories

Present contrastive ways of being:

Peasant

|

|

criticism

Educated

|

|

foregrounding

A Sample of Story Topics

- language
- performance in certain contexts (school, square, etc.)
- patterns of behaviour
- types of occupation

Figure 4: The Function of Oral Stories in Chalki

Chapter 4

Accounting for Textual Style: First and Second Order Principles

Against the background established in the previous section, the discussion in this chapter is directed towards the discovery of the cultural logic that underlies and generates diversity in text-building strategies in written narrative texts and accounts for differences in textual style. In particular, the discussion aims to:

i) examine specific patterns of text building that give us evidence about the type of conflicts manifested in written narrative texts produced by real people, and subsequently

ii) analyse the way in which these conflicts are resolved.

The proposal is this: in written text production conflicts center around principles and maxims concerned with the quantity of information to be given to the reader.

In the process of explaining text quality, I will focus on differences across age-groups in resolving such conflicts. Styles can only be known contrastively. Such a comparison is not intended, however, to reduce styles to simple differences in surface features but rather views them as different but equally significant systems of resolving conflicts brought about by concerns regarding the amount of information to be transmitted in the process of rendering experience.

4.1. Description of Event-Linking Strategies

Given the postulated aims, and in order to clarify the processes involved in text production, I undertake a particular task the language producer has to perform, event connectivity seen as utterance-to-utterance linkage, and trace it across age-groups, with the aim of sketching the nature of the principles underlying and leading to its different linguistic realization across age-groups.

Greek children and adults used a variety of forms in order to establish event connectivity in their narrative texts. Subjects were found to make use of:

1) Zero Connectives, that is, no connectives at all

- (42)
- a. bghke apo to mpanio
 - b. **O** forese allo forema
 - c. **O** to megalo paidi tin ekopse louloudia
- a. (she) went out of the bathroom
- b. **O** put on a new dress
- c. **O** the eldest child gave her flowers
(Achilleas, 8 years old).

2) "kai" (and)

- (43)
- a. H Eirhnh thumwse
 - b. **kai** malwse ta duo paidia.
- a. Irene got upset
- b. **and** told the children off.
(Thanassis P., 12 years old)

3) Connectives (temporal and causal connectives)

- (44)
- a. O pinakas epese katw kai lerwse to forema ths zwgrafou.
 - b. **Tote** ta paidia archisane na klaine. H zwgrafos thimomenh tous malwse.
 - c. **Meta** h zwgrafos phge sto mpanio gia na pluthei.
- a. The easel was knocked over and covered the painter's dress.
- b. **As a result** the children started crying.
The painter very upset told them off.
- c. **Then** the painter went to the bathroom to clean herself. (Basilis N., 12 years old)

4) Preposed Temporal Adverbial Clauses

- (45)
- a. Epeita h zwgrafos phge sto mpanio
 - b. ebgale ta rouca ths
 - c. kai mphke sth mpaniera gia na pluthei.
 - d. **Enw plunotan** ta paidia prospathhsan kai kataferan na sikwsoun ton pinaka kai na baloun ta crwmata sth thesh tous.
 - e. H zwgrafos **afou ekane to mpanio ths** bghke exw gia na mazepsei ta pragmata.
- a. Then the painter went to the bathroom
- b. took off her clothes
- c. and prepared herself for a bath.
- d. **While she was taking her bath** the children managed to put up the easel and put the paint-pots back into their place.
- e. The painter **after (she) had her bath** went out to pick up her things. (Apostolis, 12 years old).

5) Present Participles

- (46) Tin wra ekeinh gurizei h mhtera tous kai **pigenontas stin kouzina** blepei to bazo kai ta alla pragmata katw.

By that time their mother comes back and **entering the kitchen** she finds the jar and the other stuff on the floor. (Achilleas K., adult)

6) Discourse Bracketing Devices (DBDs)

- (47) En tw metaxu ta duo paidia **stenocwrhmena apo tin aprosexia tous** prospathoun na epanorthwsoun..

Meanwhile the two children **sorry for their carelessness** try to tidy things up...
(Paraskevi S., adult)

The questions are: How can we account for the use of each one of the above-mentioned forms? What are the factors that led language producers to choose one versus another of the options available? And, further, what are the effects of each form on text quality? These questions form part of the larger issue at the heart of my inquiry concerning the nature of style and the factors that give rise to differences in textual style.

4.2. Accounting for the Observed Patterns

The proposal put forward consists of two parts:

a) underlying the documented variety, there are, in essence, two different textual strategies of event connectivity, the first encompassing zero connectives and "and", the second the rest types of forms.

b) each of these two strategies reflects on the surface level the application of different pragmatic principles dealing with information: whereas connectives, temporal clauses, DBDs and participles are surface-level applications of the Q-maxim ("give the reader as much information as possible"), "and" and zero connectives are the realizations of the injunctions of the I-maxim ("do not give the reader more information than is required"). In this way, language producers enter into decision-making processes related not to whether they should use form A rather than form B. The issue at hand relates to the amount of information that should be given to the reader. That is, the language producer has to choose between either giving to the addressee as much information as possible or not imparting any information at all and relying on the inferential enrichment that comes out of the coordination of linguistic and extra-linguistic information. Given the interaction between extra-linguistic and linguistic knowledge in language production and interpretation, a reader can relatively easily supply missing pieces of information that accord with his/her world view.¹¹ So, one of the basic problems the narrator faces during the production of a text is that of informativeness: should s/he give the reader as much information as possible or not give more information than required? At which point should this be?

In dealing with these issues, the narrator has to coordinate two different maxims, the Q- and the I-maxim, which give conflicting injunctions. Whereas the Q-maxim asks the writer to give the reader as much information as possible, the I-maxim gives the opposite injunction "do not give the reader more information than required". So, the question that needs to be answered, in essence, brings us down to the processes by which one comes to make a choice between these two maxims. How do language producers decide which principle to choose in a particular case? How do they decide between different informational requirements?

And further, how can we account for children's own response patterns? What principle did children choose to implement? Why did some of the children prefer one principle versus another and what does this indicate for their pragmatic competence?

To answer this issue, in what follows a distinction is introduced between principles of different levels which is used to explain text production and, ultimately, to illustrate the way in which practical reasoning actually accounts for language production. To demonstrate that a rational approach to the resolution of conflicts between maxims requires principles of different levels, as proposed here, let us try to do without them when dealing with instances of conflicts between maxims. In what follows, I assess various possible ways of resolving cases of conflicts and discuss their defects in order to establish the background against which my own proposals are to be judged.

4.3. Resolving Conflicts between Maxims: The Background

There are two different perspectives¹² regarding the way in which conflicts between maxims can be resolved, formulated thus:

(48)

M1:

a) *strong version*:

conflicts can be avoided; different principles take over in different situations. (Horn (1984)). (I call such principles "incommensurate").¹³

b) *weak version*:

principles may be partially overlapping; hedging principles with exception UNLESS clauses, that can be assimilated to priority assignments, can solve the puzzle of conflicts (Atlas (1984), Levinson 1987a,b.).

The Issue of Incommensurability

M1a of (48), by advocating the avoidance of conflicts, in essence claims the possibility of inherent incommensurability between principles, a claim which can do away with the problem of conflicts. Non-comparable principles, in virtue of this property, cannot conflict; each one is, by definition, bound to be used in different situations.

Horn (1984), the proponent of this strong version, proposes a partially reductionist program of the system of Gricean maxims; his attempt is to

demonstrate that only two antinomic forces and the interaction between them are responsible for generating Grice's conversational maxims and the pragmatic inferences derived from them. His proposal, while keeping the Quantity 1 maxim, subsumes all the other Gricean maxims into a maxim of Relation as follows:

- (49) (1a) *The Q Principle (Hearer-based):*
 Make your contribution sufficient.
 Say as much as you can.
- (1b) *The R-principle (Speaker-based):*
 Make your contribution necessary.
 Say no more than you must.
 (after Horn (1984), p.13)

The basic insight pervading Horn's work is that his Q- and R-principles apply to different situations, ensuring a "division of labour": in deciding between a simple lexical form and its more complex (lexical or phrasal) counterpart, as in the following examples:

- (50) a. Mary stopped the car
- b. Mary caused the car to stop

the use of the unmarked form in (a.) denotes a stereotypical, unmarked situation via R-implicature, (Mary stopped the car in the normal manner with the foot brake) whereas the use of its marked counterpart in (b.) is reserved for signalling marked situations via Q-implicatures (Mary stopped the car in an unusual manner, e.g. by using the hand brake). It is my contention, however (see chapter 5), that the choice between the two forms in question has nothing to do with quantity of information; the two forms do not differ in the amount of information given to the addressee; their use is properly accounted for only through the maxim of Manner, that is, by taking into account issues of information presentation.

A different solution to the case of conflicts between maxims concerned with informatativeness is proposed by Atlas and Levinson (1981) and Levinson (1987a,b). Although incorporating many of Horn's insights (the Hornian scales, for instance, and their role in giving rise to Q-implicatures), Levinson keeps the original Gricean distinction of four maxims but divides the Quantity maxim into two, the Q-maxim and I-principle (see (8) and (9), respectively) posing an independent status for the latter. Levinson sets this issue for investigation: how is it possible that in some cases by hearing an informationally weak form we are able to derive an informationally richer interpretation whereas in other cases the opposite process takes over? Some of the examples Levinson uses to illustrate his point are the following:

1) I-based Implicatures: Enrichment of Information

- "Conjunction buttressing"

- (a) John turned the key and the engine started
- (b) p and then q (temporal sequence)
- p therefore q (causal connectedness)
- A did X in order to cause q (teleology, intentionality)

- "Bridging"

- (a) John unpacked the picnic. The beer was warm.
- (b) The beer was part of the picnic.

- "Mirror maxim"

- (a) Harry and Sue bought a piano
- (b) Harry and Sue bought it together, not one each

2) Q-based Implicatures

- Scalar Implicatures:

"I often take sugar in my coffee" > not always

- Clausal Implicatures:

"I thought it was a bomb" > it may or may not have been a bomb- speaker doesn't know which (after Levinson, (1987a, p.403))

The amendment introduced by the weak version (advocated by Levinson) can be illustrated as follows:

- (51)
- a. the nature of the Q-maxim and I-principle is such that their domains do not *usually* overlap
 - b. while the principles are non-overlapping, they happen to overlap in some cases

The application domain of the I-principle and Q-maxim is regarded as being non-overlapping. The scope of Q-based implicatures is restricted to operating on Hornian scales: to derive the negation of the informationally stronger form by hearing an informationally weak form, it is necessary that both expressions form a Hornian scale. In all other cases (bridging, conjunction buttressing etc.), i.e. in cases where the forms under examination do not form such a scale, the I-principle takes over and leads to the opposite effect by making hearers derive an informationally richer interpretation when hearing an informationally weak form. Both forms of inferencing, i.e. those working on the basis of the I- and Q-maxim,

are guided by people's world view, in the sense that people are not led to derive interpretations about events that are not consistent with their world. If, nonetheless, an inconsistency is revealed in the actual operation of the Q-maxim and I-principle, the principles are revised and consistency is restored by adding exception clauses to the existing principles as follows:

Interaction of the I-, Q- and Q/M-implicatures

1. Genuine Q-implicatures from tight contrast sets of equally brief, lexicalized linguistic expressions "about" the same semantic relations, take precedence over I-implicatures;
2. *in all other cases* the I-principle induces stereotypical specific interpretations, UNLESS:
3. there are two (or more) available expressions of the same sense, one of which is unmarked and the other marked in form. In that case, the unmarked form carries the I-implicatures as usual, but the use of the marked form Q/M implicates the non-applicability of the pertinent I-implicatures. (Levinson (1987a, p. 409)

But there are problems with this suggestion. This account is socially-neutral, it is based on single lexical items only, and, as such, misses a number of extra-linguistic factors conditioning the amount of information given to the hearer/reader. According to Levinson, by having a scale of the type: < hot, warm, cold >, the use of the form "warm" licenses the inference that the informationally stronger "hot" did not obtain in this case. However, if one believes that the soup is hot but uses an informationally less strong expression (warm), then he would be contradicting himself; if the weather in Spain was cold but one uses the term "hot", then he is lying but he might be doing so in order not to admit to his friends that he had a rotten holiday. My point is that the amount of information given by the narrator and the way in which this information is interpreted by the hearer depends on a number of factors, of which Quality and Face are an example.

In what follows, I define and defend a different proposal by way of a critique of the thesis M1 of (48), which assumes two inherently non-comparable principles dealing with information. The basic postulate arguing for inverse similarities (and not independence) in the nature of the two principles dealing with information can be put thus: No matter what the injunction of a maxim or principle claims, in presenting a principle or maxim p, there are at least two other injunctions that are implicitly brought into focus:

- (52) a. the one recommending the exact opposite of what p claims (named here as anti-p)¹⁴
- b. the injunction recommending that both alternatives should be accepted as equally valid.

According to (52a.), by presenting the Q- maxim ("give reader as much information as possible"), the I-maxim (as making the exact opposite claim, "do not give the reader more information than is required") is automatically brought into focus, whereas according to (52b.), neither maxim (Q- or I-) is inherently better than the other. (52b.) rather advocates that the maxims do not differ in strength (or inherent goodness). Strength (i.e. which principle is better than the other) will be shown in section 4.4. to be a dimension attached to two maxims in conflict by external principles capturing a number of factors (contextual factors are an example).

So, it is the very nature of their injunctions that yields Q- and I-maxims related and even symmetrically inverse and this cannot be in any way refuted.

Despite this claim, as a necessary consequence of priority assignments, at some points within a text, the Q-principle is regarded as better and selected, at others the I-principle, as follows:

- (53) a. **Ystera** etrexe sto mpanio (Q-maxim)
 b. **O** ebgale to lerwmeno ths forema (I-maxim)
 c. **kai** balthhke na katharisei apo ta mallia kai to swma ths ta crwmata pou eican pesei. (I-maxim)
- a. **Then** she rushed to the bathroom (Q-maxim)
 b. **O** took off her dirty dress (I-maxim)
 c. **and** tried to clean the paint-stains from her hair and clothes (I-maxim)
 (Basiliki M., 24 years old)
- (54) a. **O** H Ntora (etsi elegan th megalh tous adherfh) tous malwse. (I-maxim)
 b. **O** O Dhmhtrhs eklaige enw h Eua ton parhgorhse. (I-maxim)
- a. **O** Dora (this was the name of their eldest sister) told them off. (I-maxim)
 b. **O** Dimitris was crying while Eve comforted him. (I-maxim) (Elpiniki K., 12 years old)

In virtue of what factors is such a choice made? Having rejected inherent difference, it is then up to the language producer to calculate which principle is better than the other at a specific point within a text.

A detailed account of this process is actually given by the decision-theoretic framework which has entered linguistics through the work of Carlson (1983),(1984) where the process leading to the resolution of conflicts between principles and maxims is clearly delineated. The standard decision-theoretic orientation is this: in any situation of choice, the alternatives are weighed against one another, taking into account people's beliefs concerning the probabilities of their various consequences and the values assigned to each of these consequences. Multiplying the probabilities with the values, one then arrives at the expected utility of each alternative; the alternative with the highest expected utility is preferred (for proposals regarding the application of this decision-theoretic framework to analyzing human communication, see also Egan (1987) and Follesdal (1981)). Within this system, Carlson analyses dialogue as game-playing. The basic assumption pervading Carlson's work is that a rational player would always follow an optimal strategy, i.e. one calculated to maximize his personal payoff in the game. The terms "optimizing"/"maximizing" and the less strong "satisficing" (which I would advocate) are drawn from microeconomics and game and decision-theory but have applicability in any theory relying on the rationality postulate. There can be a lot of discussion about the sense of the assumption of optimality in language production (which correlates with an ideal conception of language) but it would be out of the concerns of this section. My criticisms would rather centre on the austere, mathematical conception of language use pervading Carlson's work; language producers are presented as individuals interested in maximizing their personal pay-off in the game; no attempt is made to capture the expressive aspects of communication nor the role of society in the decision-making process. It is the basic assumption of this work that language users are role-players entering the conversation with certain normative expectations. For these dimensions to be captured, a different notion of language-game must be postulated, one much more in line with Wittgenstein's perspective (language-games).

Enough about the literature. In the following section, I put forward the entailments of this discussion, with particular emphasis on constructing an alternative to theses M1 (48) that would be empirically defensible.

(55)

Basic Presumption: A1 (after A1 of (39))

The very existence of conflicts between the Q- and I-maxims in written narrative text production is evidence not of intrinsic inconsistency in the system of narrative textual logic containing the two maxims (Q- and I-maxims) that recommend incompatible choices but rather of the pragmatic impossibility of implementing both principles at the same time.

I further mend M1 as follows:

(56)

M2:

- a. The Q- and I-maxims are necessarily symmetrically inverse (no-one is inherently better than the other)
- b. The choice of one maxim over the other is guided by higher principles, under which the two maxims are subsumed.

4.4. Elementary Maxims and Second-Order Principles: Sketching a Structure for Resolving Conflicts Between Maxims Dealing with Information

The previous section has presented a number of ways through which conflicts between maxims dealing with information may be resolved. Despite the difference in theoretical assumptions and the ensuing explanations, the two proposals presented rely on a common basis characterized by their commitment to a one-level approach to resolving conflicts between maxims. By proposing M2 of (56), my objection to this point is made clear: it is claimed that the one-level approach to conflict resolutions is condemned to have no explanatory power for settling conflicts between maxims; it obscures a number of factors relating to decision-making and does not illustrate the way in which people's epistemic beliefs enter into the choice of specific maxims.

The postulate is this: to have a complete picture of language use and gain insight into differences in style, we need to know the type and nature of the processes leading people to adopt the textual strategies they actually do. It is only through accounts of this kind that it may become clear how style emerges and how society guides people while using language. The purpose of the present section is to explain M2b of (56) by way of introducing a distinction between principles of different levels that seems plausible and useful enough for answering the issue under examination: the nature of textual style.

The central question is this: in deciding about information, how does the narrator choose between different informational demands? In other words, how does s/he solve the conflict between the requirements of the I- and Q- maxim? Is this choice a culturally-specific one? Does Greek culture value information?

In attempting to provide an answer to these questions, let us start with the two maxims assumed to be at the disposal of all people, the Q- and the I-maxim, and examine the nature of their injunctions. The Q- and I- maxims offer the narrator specific injunctions: "give the reader more information than necessary", "do not give

the reader more information than required", respectively. Although such maxims may be used for language production, their injunctions do not give any indication about the way in which people resolve cases when conflicts between these maxims occur. The level at which we intuitively apply maxims certainly exists as the product of our upbringing (for an empirically-based questioning of the universality of the Gricean framework, see Keenan (1980)). My point, however, is that although we, as language producers and readers, may be equipped with those maxims, we are bound to find ourselves in situations in which conflicts between maxims occur. The need for a weighing process surfaces. The two maxims, the I- and Q-maxim, however, do not contain injunctions of this sort; the command to perform a weighing is not part of their meaning. Since the maxims themselves cannot resolve the conflict, it becomes clear that principles of some other kind must be postulated in order to resolve it.

Progress can be made towards settling this issue if we invoke a type of thinking which makes no appeal to the I- and Q- maxims as such. Incorporating a distinction between principles of different kinds is the only way of responding to the conflicting requirements of the Q- and I-maxim. To this end, a distinction is invoked between first- and second-order principles and it is claimed that second-order principles constitute an important part of practical reasoning underlying text production. I define second-level principles as principles which are involved in the operation of weighing processes leading to a choice between conflicting first-order maxims. It is further stipulated that conflicts occur only between first-order principles and they are necessarily solved by second-order principles. In this way, by still assuming the creativity and judgement of the language producer as central in the process of text production, we are able to sketch the yardsticks language producers follow when using language by illustrating how priority relations can be set up between different maxims. (For the pervasiveness of second-order yardsticks in people's lives, see moral philosophy (Hare (1981)) and legal philosophy (Raz (1970), (1975), (1986)) for similar proposals regarding the resolution of moral dilemmas.)

To illustrate the need to distinguish between first- and second-level principles so that we adequately explain how people resolve conflicts between maxims, let us return to the conflict situation at hand and examine the ways in which it was resolved by different language producers in the texts I collected. To begin with, the fundamental question is this: Why did some narrators use connectives or subordinate clauses whereas others relied on the use of zero forms? Why did they choose to give more (or less) information at point X rather than Z?

It is true that we cannot get insight into internal, cognitive processes as they actually take place in people's minds each time they produce written texts. In

order to examine the actual way in which people are led to the construction of texts, cognitive psychologists (Flower and Hayes (1980), (1981)) use a method called "protocol analysis" which consists of people talking their thoughts out while writing. In this study, in order to give the children a familiar task, two different sources of information are used: internal (patterns of language use in the written texts) and external information (people's post facto comments). In tackling the cognitive underpinnings of language, spoken texts are better than written ones. When producing spoken texts, monologues or conversation, and due to real-time constraints, people use a number of different channels in their attempt to put forward a clear message. Hesitations, reformulations, fillers and discourse markers (see Schourup (1985)) are seen as surface evidence of underlying cognitive activity. A major piece of research that relies on such surface features to trace the workings of cognitive processes underlying language use is that of Chafe (1980, 1987). Chafe is clear about the feasibility of such an enterprise; his work is concerned with "presenting a picture of what is happening in the mind of this speaker as he produced this narrative and its effect on the linguistic form which the narrative took" (1987,p.48). The situation with written texts, however, is different because language producers have enough time to polish up the text. Despite this difficulty, there is still a way out. What I propose is this: If we know the actual structure along which cognitive decision-making processes are made (illustrated here in the reformulated version of the practical syllogism, i.e. that people use means to achieve socioculturally established ends), then people's comments regarding language use, though vague or overly specific, can indeed help us understand the factors leading to specific choices. Given these parenthetical remarks, let us now come to the main issue: when they are confronted with the opposing requirements of two maxims, how do people set about choosing which maxim to follow?

The responses by people, children and adults, gave insights regarding this issue. In a conversation I had with Mara and George (8- and 10-years old respectively), Mara told me:

when the teacher gives us a difficult topic.. once the teacher asked us to write about a painting in our house that we like most and I was writing let's say that I have an uncle who paints things .. but then in order to say how the painting looked like I used .. I was thinking about the words to put in.. look.. I wrote that my uncle uses some bright colors I thought about it a great deal of time in order to find it...then I thought about what to write next and I reread the previous text in order to link it with what was to follow.. if it goes all right

George, on the other hand, mentioned an important factor he found restricting him: the amount of time they are given in order to write an story:

Of course with more time I would write better I would think more I wouldn't be in a hurry *thinking about this sentence.*

Consider also readers' comments on the collected texts which advocate different choices:

- No connection (Maria Th., postgraduate student in Education): need for using the Q-maxim.
- Although the text is comprehensible, there is no connection with temporal connectives (Maria Th.): explicit indication of the need to use more information through temporal connectives.
- You should separate paragraphs (Dimitra Ts., 23 years old, social worker): Need to separating blocks of information within a text
- The discourse is simple, paratactic with no connection between paragraphs (Chrisanthi, 23, secondary school teacher): need to use information to link paragraphs to each other.

And consider some of the responses the children themselves gave two years after the collection of the data.

- I like the text. Because *sentences are well-connected*, there are few and good words in the sentences, there are very few mistakes, and because the verb tenses are correct. (Cristophoros N., 12 years old)
- I do not like the text because *it does not have detailed descriptions and jumps from one topic to the next*. He should have written more things and in a better way. (Apostolis N., 12 years old)
- I like the connection between utterances. because in this way the text is comprehensible (Lambros S., 12 years old)

Consider also two different textual strategies regarding the amount of information deemed necessary to be imparted within a text:

- Both texts are short. I personally like it. Now the second text is better because the narrator explains everything in a richer way. (Charilaos K., 10 year old child; this comment was written when he was 12 years old)
- I like the text because it presents the story in few words, that is it presents it right. (Margarita, K., participating in the study as a 10 year-old, but 12 years old when writing this comment)

Charilaos and Margarita differ on their view regarding the amount of information needed to be given by the narrator. Charilaos is in line with imparting information (using the Q-maxim), whereas Margarita advocates the need for using "few words"; in essence, the I-maxim.

On the basis of this evidence, I suggest that the conflict between the Q- and the I-maxim is to be resolved not by following the injunctions of the I- or Q- maxim as such but by adhering to the injunctions of a higher principle. I call this principle "Principle of Communicative Efficiency" and formulate it as follows:

(57) **Principle of Communicative Efficiency**

be communicatively efficient

The structure of the decision-making processes can be illustrated thus:

- (58) In a situation of choice, perform that choice which would render the text cohesive and would facilitate the efficient flow of information.

According to the way in which my argument has been formulated and according to the line of reasoning established, it seems that the Principle of Communicative Efficiency can bring us down to the details of message construction. I argue for the contrary. In a situation of choice among different linguistic forms, the narrator does not use the Principle of Communicative Efficiency as a standpoint for choosing *directly* between alternative forms, i.e. between connectives, subordinate clauses etc. What is rather proposed and needs to be clear is that the principle of Communicative Efficiency functions as a standpoint against which a language producer measures (at times consciously- at times unconsciously) the injunctions of lower principles such as the I- and Q- maxim. So, instead of deriving the details of language use (connectives, zero connectives, subordinate clauses etc.) directly from such a higher principle, in effect an intermediate level is postulated which is occupied by the two elementary maxims, that is, the I- and the Q- maxim. There are other processes (dealt with in chapter 5) involved that give rise to specific linguistic forms. For the time being and with regard to the case accounted here, in which these two maxims are in conflict, I argue that it is the highest principle, the Principle of Communicative Efficiency, that leads to the resolution of the conflict. So, the decision-making processes underlying specific choices of event connectivity can be sketched as follows:

(59) **Principle of Communicative Efficiency**

Which of the injunctions of the two first-order maxims should I choose to implement so that the text is cohesive at this point? In other words, so that I satisfy the injunctions of the Principle of Communicative Efficiency?

The structure into which the principles enter can be illustrated thus:

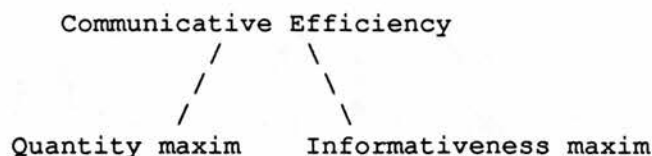


Figure 5: The Principle of Communicative Efficiency

This way of explaining text production, however, is not entirely satisfactory. Its major defect lies in the general character of the principle of Communicative Efficiency. The principle is not attuned to the details of text production nor does it take into account the fact that conflicts between maxims surface only at specific points within a text. A plausible hypothesis would be to suggest that the resolution of conflicts between maxims is facilitated by the type of context in which a particular conflict arises. Chapter 5 aims to resolve this indeterminacy by indicating, on the basis of empirical measurements of texts, the way in which contextual factors enter into the process of resolving conflicts between the Q- and I-maxims.

For the moment, let us concentrate on the principle of Communicative Efficiency. This principle, by postulating the need for using information at certain points within a text, demands that narrators focus on the text as a hierarchical structure containing units of different information. Consider the differences between children in their awareness of this principle. In the following excerpt, the interlocutors are Fillia, George and two friends of his, Kostas1 and Kostas2. All 3 are boys and 10 years-old.

- (60) Fillia: do you know that in your text you need to
separate paragraphs from each other? first of
all, do you know what a paragraph is?
- Kostas2: not very much...I know in the language lesson
when we separate Z
- Kostas1: paragraphs
- Fillia: yes, yes, continue what you were about to say
- Kostas2: there is a piece here and another piece
- Fillia: how do you distinguish these pieces? what
criteria do you use?
- Kostas1: with numbers

Kostas2: with numbers

Fillia: all right.. how do you choose to which piece you will put a number..for instance.. how do you say from here till here this is one piece

<George was putting his hand up to get my attention>

Eh.George you will speak later <laughter> I know your answer...can you remember? okay, let's ask George to help us

George: a lesson throughout does not talk about the same thing at the beginning it gives an introduction then it talks... to give an example?

Fillia: yes, yes

George: at the beginning there is the introduction which explains about how one caused damage then

Fillia: right

It is evident that the children approach the task of written text production with totally different knowledge of what to look at and what to attend to during producing a text. Kostas1 and Kostas2 have no knowledge of basic text building structures, such as paragraphs and topics. This becomes clearer in the written responses some 12 year-old children gave. Consider the following comment in which the child concentrates on the moral import of the information given rather than to the text as a structure of topics and subtopics:

- Fotis wanted to get a tin but it toppled over and he did not care about it. I did not like this because Fotis dropped the tin and did not pick it up to put it back to its place again. (Antigoni M., 12 years old)

In this relation, consider the comments of their teacher:

- No-one has taught these children that...what introduction means, what is the main topic, eh, that within the main topic we would have.. how to tackle the topic, how to separate subtopics, how to use a main sentence, how to use a subordinate sentence, how to link sentences with connectives, with this, with that, with phrases etc. All these..of course some exercises somehow isolated, out of specific compositions may exist. But I do not think that all these can systematically help a child about how to write a composition.
- We have not taught them what paragraph means we said it briefly it hasn't been taught of course we separate the text in the language book into paragraphs yes but we can do that in the text in the language book but these are two different things... what I have somehow understood myself is that in writing a composition the greatest problem the children have is that they cannot concentrate on many

things on different aspects...either they will focus on expression and they will miss out on spelling or they will concentrate on spelling and they will miss out on expression this has the consequence that we have two problems right? spelling mistakes on the one hand and mistakes regarding expression on the other but this is I think the characteristic of the age.

The different ways in which socialization processes at home and school shape textual style is illustrated in chapter 5 through detailed analyses of the collected narrative texts.

Chapter 5

Differing Strategies for Satisfying Topical Cohesion: The Relevance Principle

5.1. Strategies for Linking Utterances: Topic Continuity and Discontinuity

In recent years, in an effort to characterize the use of various grammatical structures in discourse, and narrative discourse in particular, attempts have been made by linguists to establish the patterns of their occurrence within texts. Influential examples of work that follows this orientation is that of Chafe (1979, 1980), Givón (1983) and Kalmár (1982). A concept that proved to be of particular importance to such quantitative measurements of information in text is that of topic. The notion of "topic", used in the literature with more or less vague meaning, is usually associated with "what is being talked/written about" and this is the way in which this notion is defined in this thesis too. Empirical analysis of texts written in a number of different languages (from American English, Spanish, Hebrew and Ute (reported in Givón (1983)) to Chamorro (Cooreman (1987))) suggested that topicality as a discourse-level notion has a number of surface-level correlates. Adults were documented to use a variety of forms ranging from definite noun phrases, names, and connectives to graphological means (paragraphs) in order to signal explicitly those points where topic changes occur whereas they would rely on minimal information conveyed by anaphora and ellipsis to indicate topic continuity. Briefly, the more disruptive, surprising, discontinuous or hard to process a new topic was found to be in relation to a previous one, the more coding material was accessible to it. In the light of this background, it is expected that by tracing the linguistic means used to signal topicality, one can capture the interaction between reader and writer in the process of communication and the sensitivity of the latter to the needs of the reader.

In the present study and in order to differentiate types of information within texts, the distribution of event-linking forms is examined on the basis of two

parameters, topic continuity and discontinuity. The notion of topic is operationalized as subject change; counts were subsequently performed of the forms (connectives, subordinate clauses, zeros etc.) used under two configurations: coreferential (CC) versus non-coreferential context (NCC), that is, context in which the subject remains the same in two consecutive utterances versus context where subject changes occur in successive utterances. The following example illustrates the way in which the measurements were made:

- (61)
- a. **0** H zwgrafos afhse gia ligo to megalourghma ths
 - b. **kai** kateuthunthike sto mpanio gia na bgalei tis mpogies twra pou htan nwpes akoma.
 - c. **Sto metaxu** o Nwths kai h Nina prospathwntas na epanorthwsoun katharizoun ton topo ap tis mpogies kai sikwnoun to kabaletto.
 - d. **0** H despinis zwgrafos pou ecei parei to mpanio ths, foraei mia allh rompa..
-
- a. **0** The painter left her masterpiece for a while
(NCC- zero connective, definite NP)
 - b. **and** headed to the bathroom to clean the paints as soon as possible (CC - and + 0)
 - c. **Meanwhile** Notis and Nina to make amends for what they had done clean the place from the paint and put up the easel.
(NCC-connective, name)
 - d. **0** The young painter who has taken her bath, puts on a clean dress. (NCC- 0 + Def. NP) (Athanasia, 20 years old).

My hypothesis is that in the case at hand (the construction of narrative texts) Greek adults would indeed rely on grammaticalization for signalling topic continuity and discontinuity. In other words, they would use the options (lexical and syntactic) Greek language offers them to help the reader as much as possible in the processing of the text. The interesting issue, however, is to see how sensitive to such contextual configurations the children in our sample are. Previous research (see Berman (1988) on Hebrew, Clancy (1980a) on Japanese, Perera (1984) and Romaine (1985) on British-English) documented the emergence of age-related sensitivity to discourse-level factors. On the basis of this background, we would expect that there would be significant differences across age-groups in terms of the text-building strategies they employed for establishing text connectivity. My main claim, yet to be defended, is that the text level offers a new insightful orientation regarding the way in which people of different groups (be it age- or

socio-economic groups) exploit their available and, most often, limited resources in order to construct meaning.

The empirical results demonstrate that the types of forms used for event linkage differ according to contextual configuration. Zero connectives and the connective "and" are used at points of topic continuity whereas the rest are used at points of topic change. The following sections concentrate on each of the forms documented and illustrate their textual role and effects on text building and text quality. The aim of the discussion is to examine how specific linguistic forms which instantiate the Q-maxim satisfy the injunctions of the higher principle of Communicative Efficiency by establishing cohesion at points of topic change.

5.2. Giving Information through the Q-Maxim

5.2.1. The Textual Role of Connectives

The type of connectives used in the collected texts is determined by the discourse-situation (narrative texts). The skeleton of a prototypical narrative text comprises different characters whose actions may enter into a number of relations such as sequentiality, simultaneity and causality. It is not surprising that the most-frequently employed connectives are temporal and causal. Here are two examples:

- (62) H mhtera tous **meta** phge sthn toualeta kai arcise
na kanei mpanio. Ta paidia **tote** gia na mh
stenocwrhsoun perissotero th mhtera tous arcisan na
skoupizoun. O Kwstakhs ebale ton pinaka sth thesh tou
kai h Basw skoupise tis mpogies. **Meta** otan teleiwse
h mhtera tous to mpanio o Kwstakhs ths
carise mia anthodesmh me omorfa louloudia.

Then their mother went to the bathroom and began
to wash herself. **Then, as a result** the children
to avoid annoying their mother further began to clean
the place. Kostakis put the easel back in its place and
Vaso cleaned the paint. **Then** when their mother
finished her bath Kostakis offered her a bunch of
lovely flowers. (Ntina M., 12 years old)

- (63) **Tote** o Kwstas zhthse apo tin Maria na anoixei
to ntoulapi. H Maria anoixe to ntoulapi kai o Kwstas
aplwse na parei mia konserba. Sthn prospatheia tou
omws parapathse kai erixe katw tin konserba kai
duo pothria. **Tote** o Kwstas arcise na klaiei gia

th zhmia pou ekane...

So Kostas asked Mary to open the cupboard. Mary opened the cupboard and Kostas stretched out to reach a tin. But in his attempt he stumbled and dropped the tin on the floor along with two glasses. **So** Kostas burst into tears for the damage he caused... (Thanasis P., 12 years old).

The connectives used are "meta" (then), "ustera" (later), "sth sunecela", "katopin", (both to be translated as "subsequently") and "tote" (so, as a result). These are the connectives dealt with here; this thesis will not examine the role of the other types of connectives.

The use of connectives was found to be dependent on two types of factors, structural and non-structural ones. The following discussion indicates the way in which structural factors (i.e. the delimitation of topics and subtopics) condition choice by illustrating how connectives reflect and contribute to the building of the hierarchical structure of the text.

Connectives are found to be used at points where topic changes, i.e. character changes, occur. To validate this claim, I shall consider a particular example which I take to be typical and which indicates the processes underlying the use of connectives.

- (64) a. H mera einai polu omorfh. O hlios kaiei ston ourano kai mia zwgrafos briskei tin eukairia na bgei exw apo to spiti ths kai n arcisei na zwgrafizei. O Kosths kai h Elenitsa paizoun me tin mpala tous ligo pio pera.

It is a lovely day. The sun is shining and a painter takes the opportunity to get out of the house and start painting. Kostis and Elenitsa play with their ball nearby. (Katerina Ts., 12 years old).

A necessary precondition for narrative cohesion is the introduction of characters. The establishment of character identity, however, is not an all-or-nothing phenomenon. During the process of text production, characters' status changes from "new information" (that is, information appearing for the first time in the text) to "given information" (i.e. information already part of the discourse situation), which, in its turn, is subject to different levels of activation ranging from "given information in focus" to "given information out of focus".¹⁵ At the very beginning of the text in (64), the characters (the two children and the girl) constitute new information and, as such, they are introduced clearly with forms that specify their identity and differentiate them from other characters of the same age and/or sex. Noun-phrases "mia zwgrafos" (a painter) and names (Kostis, Elenitsa) serve exactly this role.

Having introduced the characters, the narrator may proceed to recount their activities. Look now at the continuation of the text:

- (65) . b. **Se kapoia stigmh** h mpalia htan polu dunath (D), h Elenitsa den mporese na ftasei th mpala (D) kai h mpala epese panw (e1) ston pinaka ths zwgrafou.
- c. **O** H zwgrafos lerwthhke (e2) apo ta crwmata pou epesan panw ths kai neuriasmenh phge sto mpanio (e3) tou spitou ths na xepluthei. **O** Ebgale (e4) to lerwmeno forema ths kai arcise na plunetai (e5).
- d. **Sto metaxu** ta paidia katalaban (S) th zhmia pou ekanan kai katharisan (S) ton khpo apo tis mpogies pou epesan.
- e. H zwgrafos **meta to mpanio** ebale (e6) ena katharo forema kai bghke exw (e7).
- b. **At some point later** the ball was (thrown) too high up (D), little Helen could not reach the ball (D) and the ball hit (e1) the painter's easel.
- c. **O** The painter was covered (e2) in paint and very upset (she) went to (e3) the bathroom to clean herself. (She) took off (e4) her dirty dress and began to wash herself (e5).
- d. **Meanwhile** the children understood (S) the damage they caused and cleaned (S) the garden from the paint splattered around.
- e. The painter **after the bath** put on (e6) a clean dress and went out. (e7) (Katerina T., 12 years old)

The first temporal phrase "se kapoia stigmh" (at some point later) performs the transition from the orientation to the complicating action and serves to mark two different functional units: (a.) which contains the orientation and (b.) which initiates the main event sequence in the narrative.

According to the criterion of subject continuity established as constitutive of topics, all utterances in (c.), by referring to the activities of the same character, constitute a single topic. The painter becomes the main character; the children are not seen again until much later. By the end of this scene, the painter is established as given information in focus and is ellipsed in subject position. Her activities are linked with equally semantically-minimal forms (zero connectives and "and"). The transition from the painter to the children in (d.) involves a topic discontinuity which is signalled at the text level with two forms, definite noun phrase "ta paidia" (the children) and the connective "en to metaxu" (meanwhile), both used to differentiate two sets of characters (painter - children) by indicating the way in

which their activities interrelate. The effect of changes in activation states on connective use most clearly surfaces in (e.) when a previously-mentioned character, the painter, re-appears on the scene (a return-pop character, according to Polanyi and Scha (1983)). The character, although mentioned in (c.), during topic (d.) has been pushed into the state of semi-activation. The temporal phrase "meta to mpanio" (after the bath) in (e.) links the painter's activities which spread on two non-adjacent topics; by referring to a previous topic (c.) and establishing its connection with the current one (e.), the temporal phrase functions as an anaphoric and cataphoric pointer within the text.

The use of connectives in delimiting the structure of the text in functional units (orientation, narrative) and subunits (topics) is shown as follows:

	ORIENTATION
Conn.	NARRATIVE
	TOPIC 1
	Descriptive inform.
	Descriptive inform.
	kai + e1
	0 + e2
	kai + e3
	0 + e4
	kai + e5
Conn. +	TOPIC 2
	Simultaneous event
	kai + Simultaneous event
<hr/>	
	Temp. Phr. + TOPIC 3
	e6
	kai + e7

Table 5 summarizes the results of connective-usage across contexts, coreferential (CC) - noncoreferential (NCC), and across age-groups.

Mean Percentage of Connective Usage: The Role of Context: NCC, CC		
age-group	NCC	CC
8 year-olds	15.94	5.16
10 year-olds	8.38	4.20
12 year-olds	10.5	3.18
Adults	4.8	3.23
Table 5: Mean Percentage of Connectives by Context: Pictures Added		

The notion of non-coreferential context (NCC) as used so far is a useful term for breaking down the text in order to perform quantitative measurements of specific surface forms. Nonetheless, as in all cases with general terms, the term "non-coreferential context" is too general to capture all aspects of message construction and reveal the details of the structural factors to which language producers responded. Analysis of patterns of connective usage illustrate that, apart from changes in characters, there are a number of other parameters that all together constitute topic change, such as:

- temporal discontinuity
- spatial discontinuity
- change in event schema

It is continuity in all or most of these parameters that establishes one and a single topic. When, on the other hand, changes occur with regard to these parameters, we are talking about points of topic discontinuity or points of topic change. Topic changes are clear-cut and easily discernible in cases when changes in all of the above-mentioned parameters co-occur. In the light of this, consider the following example:

- (66) a. Otan mphke mesa stin kouzina (e1) eide (e2) to bazo me
to gluko katw.
- b. **Tote** katalabe (e3) oti th zhmia auth tin ekane o
Giorgakhs me th Maria.

- c. **Gi'auto** phge sto dwmatio (e4) ap ta paidia kai neuriasmenh anoixe tin porta (e5).
- a. When she went into the kitchen (e1) she saw (e2) the jar with the sweet on the floor.
- b. **Then** (she) understood (e3) that little George and Maria had messed things up.
- c. **So** (she) went to the children's room (e4) and very upset (she) opened the door (e5). (Amalia F., 12 years old)

The structure is:

TOPIC: mother

e1 S e2
 conn + e3 (result)
 conn + e4 (spatial discontinuity)
 kai + e5

An examination of the semantic context in cases where ellipsis is used reveals that the referent of the ellipited subject is performing a sequence of actions. Connectives are used at those points where a subtle change occurs in the type of the activities performed. (b.), for instance, contains the result "katalabe" (understood) of the activity mentioned in (a.) "eide to bazo" (saw the jar) whereas (c.) indicates spatial discontinuity in the activities of the same character (transition from the kitchen to the children's room).

Similarly:

- (67) a. **Katopin** h zwgrafos kateuthunthike (e1) sto spiti
ths
- b. kai **sth sunecela** (kateuthunthhke) (e2) sto mpanio
ths gia na bgalei apo panw ths ta leromena rouca ths.
- c. **Epeita** ekane ena mpanio (e3).....
- a. **Then** the painter went home (e1)
- b. **and subsequently** (went) (e2) to the bathroom to
take off her dirty clothes
- c. **Then** she had a bath (e3).....
(Dimitris K, 24 years old)

The structure is:

TOPIC: the painter

conn + e1
and,conn + e2 (spatial discontinuity)
conn + e3 (different event schema)

In the pictures used, this dimension was taken into account. In contrast to picture 2, in picture 1 clear-cut topic changes occur in the sense that there are certain points at which changes in all the above-mentioned configurations co-occur. From the measurements performed it was found that these differences in textual configurations have indeed linguistic correlates on the surface level of the texts produced. Specifically: in cases where topic changes were clear-cut (as happens in picture 1) there can be a difference between pictures in the number of connectives used in the non-coreferential context. The results of the Wilcoxon Matched pairs test have as follows: The difference is significant for group 1: $z = -2.4852$, $p = .0129$, and group 3: ($z = -3.3766$, $p = .0007$) but nonsignificant for group 2: ($z = -.6054$, $p = .5449$) and group 4: ($z = -.8536$, $p = .3933$)

Table 6 makes clear the mean percentages of connectives used by all groups in the noncoreferential context in each of the two pictures.

Mean Percentage of Connective Usage: NCC context		
age-group	Picture A	Picture B
8 year-olds	21.06	10.83
10 year-olds	9.13	7.63
12 year-olds	14.15	7.00
Adults	5.26	4.34
Table 6: Mean Percentage of Connectives by Age-Group: NCC		

From a developmental point of view, the situation is as follows: The results of the Mann - Whitney test for picture A are significant for groups 1-2 ($z = -3.4729$, $p = 0.0005$), groups 1-3 ($z = -2.0021$, $p = 0.0453$), groups 1-4 ($z = -4.6035$, $p = 0.0000$), groups 3-4 ($z = -3.3758$, $p = 0.0007$). The difference in the mean percentage of connectives used by groups 2-3 ($z = -1.4254$, $p = 0.1541$) and 2 and 4 ($z = -0.9338$, $p = 0.3504$) is not significant.

In contrast, where topic differences are less discernible (as in picture 2), connectives were used in more or less equal proportions. For picture B there is no significant difference in the mean percentage of connectives used in the non-coreferential context by groups 1-2 ($z = -1.5247$, $p = 0.1273$), groups 1-3 ($z = -1.8633$, $p = 0.0624$), groups 2-3 ($z = -0.2058$, $p = 0.8369$), groups 2-4 ($z = -1.3428$, $p = 0.1793$), groups 3-4 ($z = -1.3585$, $p = 0.1743$). except for groups 1-4 ($z = -2.6177$, $p = 0.0089$). To sum up, there is a significant difference between groups in the mean percentage of connectives used to signal clear-cut changes in the structure of the text (delimitation of topics and subtopics) whereas there are no, for the most part, significant differences in the mean percentage of connectives used across groups to indicate small-range discontinuities.

The following examples provide qualitative evidence illustrating the factors to which the use of connectives is sensitive.

1) change of spatial frame

(68) H kopela lerwthhke. **Meta** phge sto spiti ths...

The girl got dirty. **Then** she went to her house...
(Achilleas T., 12 years old).

The connective "meta" (then) is used to signal a spatial discontinuity in the activities of the girl, from the garden to her house.

2) change of characters and spatial frame

(69) a. To koritsi thumwse kai phge na ta pei sth mhtera ths.

b. **Meta** pige na kanei banio.

c. **En tw metaxu** ta paidia arcisan na taktopoioun ola ta pragmata.

a. The girl got angry and went to tell everything to her mother.

b. **Then** (she) went to have a bath.

c. **Meanwhile** the children began to put things in order. (Nikoleta K., 10 years old).

The first connective "meta" (then) is used to signal a spatial discontinuity in the actions of a character (the girl), the second "en tw metaxu" (meanwhile) to situate the activities of a different set of characters (the children) in relation to those of the girl.

3) change of event schema

- (70)
- a. O pinakas epese katw (e1) kai lerwse (e2) to forema ths zwgrafou.
 - b. **Tote** ta paidia arcisane na klaine. (e3)
- a. **O** The easel was knocked over (e1) and covered the painter's dress. (e2)
- b. **As a result** the children began to cry. (e3)
(Basilis N., 12 years old).
- (71)
- a. Mia stigmh o Giannhs katalathos erixe (e1) tin mpala ston pinaka pou zwgrafize to koritsi.
 - b. **Tote** o pinakas epese (e2) kai to koritsi lerwse. (e3)
- a. At a point later John accidentally threw (e1) the ball toward the easel where the girl was drawing.
- b. **So, as a result** the easel was knocked over (e2) and the girl was covered in paint. (e3)
(Ioannis K., 12 years old)

In both examples, the connective "tote" (as a result) is used to indicate changes in the types of activities undertaken by the characters, mainly the result of a previously-mentioned activity. e3 in (70) (ta paidia arcisane na klaine: the children began to cry) is the result of e1 and e2 whereas e2 and e3 in (71) are the result of e1 (katalathos erixe thn mpalaston pinaka: accidentally threw the ball toward the easel).

The way in which connectives are used to signal global (topic changes) as well as local level linkage (connection of events within the same topic) is shown in the following text:

Orientation

- a. Mia mera o Kwstakhs kai h Aspasia epaizan me to topi enw h mama tous zwgrafize.

Narrative

- b. **Xafnika** h mpala epese (e1) epanw ston pinaka. Oi mpogies epesan (e2) kai lerwsan (e3) th mama. Ta paidia kathotan katw (D) ki eklegan. (D) Paliopaida! Koitate ti mou kanate!
- c. **Tote** h mama tous phge sthn toualeta (e4) xentuthhke (e5) ki ekane mpanio. (e6)
- d. **Sto metaxu** ta paidia gia na tous sugcwresi h mama shmasan ton pinaka (e7) emasan tis mpogies (e8) **ki argotera** skoupisan (e9) kai katharisan (e10) ton topo.
- e. **Ekeinh th stigmh** h mama ebgaino apo to mpanio. (D) O Kostakis sa deigma agaphs ths ekopse louloudia (e11). **Tote** agkaliasthkan ki oi duo (e12).

Orientation

- a. One day Kostakis and Aspasia were playing with their ball whereas their mom was painting.

Narrative

- b. **Suddenly** the ball hit (e1) the easel. The paint-pots toppled over (e2) and covered (e3) the children's mother in paint. The children were sitting down (D) and crying. (D) You bad children! Look what you have done to me!
- c. **So** their mom went to the bathroom (e4) took off her clothes (e5) and took a bath. (e6)
- d. **Meanwhile** the children to make amends put up the easel (e7) picked up the paint-pots (e8) **and afterwards** swept (e9) and cleaned (e10) the place.
- e. **By that time** their mom was coming out of the bathroom. (D) Kostakis as a gesture of love picked flowers (e11) for her. **So** they hugged (e12) each other. (Ioannis K., 12 years old)

The use of connectives in delimiting global and local level units is as follows:

ORIENTATION

Conn NARRATIVE

TOPIC 1

e1
0 + e2
kai + e3
D
kai + D

Conn + TOPIC 2

e4
0 + e5
kai + e6

Conn + TOPIC 3

e7
0 + e8
conn + e9
kai + e10

Conn + TOPIC 4

D
0 + e11
conn + e12

The question that remains to be answered concerns the role of connectives at those points. Are connectives necessary to signal the connections (as maximalists, Posner (1980), argue) or can we claim (in line with minimalists, Levinson (1983), Schiffrin (1986)) that connectives just illustrate connections which are there and can be easily inferred by the reader through pragmatic factors:

A pattern found in the collected texts, the alternation between connectives and zero-connectives, may be important for resolving the question. It was found that within a text there were only some points of topic change that were signalled as such by the narrator. Consider the following text:

- (73) a. **0** H kopela pou zwgrafize lerwthhke,
b. **meta** phge sto spiti ths. Ekei ekane mpanio kai ntuthike.
c. **Meta** phge sto meros pou zwgrafize, ekei ta eide ola orthia
d. **0** ta paidia ths edwsan kai louloudia.

- a. **0** The girl who was painting was covered in paint,
- b. **then** she went to her house. There she had a bath and changed clothes.
- c. **Then** she went to the place she had been painting, there she saw everything in order
- d. **0** the children even gave her flowers (Achilleas Ts., 10 years old).

Although connectives are used to signal topic changes (use of "meta" (then) in (b.) to indicate a spatial discontinuity in the activities of a character, and in (c.) to indicate a change in event schema), the change in the configuration of characters in (d.) is not signalled at all.

It seems that focusing on structural factors only (i.e. the delimitation of topics) is not enough to account for the use of connectives. The discussion in section 6.4. makes clear exactly which factors are involved and what role connectives play in establishing text cohesion and text quality.

5.2.2. The Textual Role of Subordinate Clauses

The central aim of my inquiry is to validate the proposal that differences in textual style are the result of the different textual strategies used by language producers in order to establish event connectivity. The present section provides additional support to this claim by examining the way in which syntax is used to perform essential text-building functions by concentrating on the textual role of proposed temporal adverbial clauses.

The Cohesive Function

The quantitative measurements performed did not indicate differences across groups with regard to the number of subordinate clauses used at points of topic change to establish linkage between topics (picture A).

There was not a significant difference between groups 1 and 2 in the percentage of subordinate clauses used ($z = -1.009$, $p = 0.3169$), 3 and 4 ($z = -1.2283$, $p = 0.2193$), groups 2 and 3 ($z = -1.8063$, $p = 0.0709$), between groups 1 and 3 ($z = -2.6052$, $p = 0.0092$). The difference was significant for groups 1 and 4 ($z = -2.4404$, $p = 0.0147$) and 2 and 4 ($z = -2.7118$, $p = 0.0067$)

Table 7 summarizes the results:

Mean Percentage of Temporal Adverbial Clauses		
Age-group	Picture A	Picture B
8 year-olds	4.67	6.80
10 year-olds	6.03	10.94
12 year-olds	9.56	9.07
Adults	15.89	7.28
Table 7: Mean Percentage of Temporal Adverbial Clauses by Picture		

The essential text-bridging role preposed adverbial clauses play at points of topic change has been illustrated by the work of Chafe (1984) and Thompson and Longacre (1985) who argue that the function of all subordinate clauses appearing before a main clause is to provide an orientation to the material that follows. The Greek data lend support to such claims.

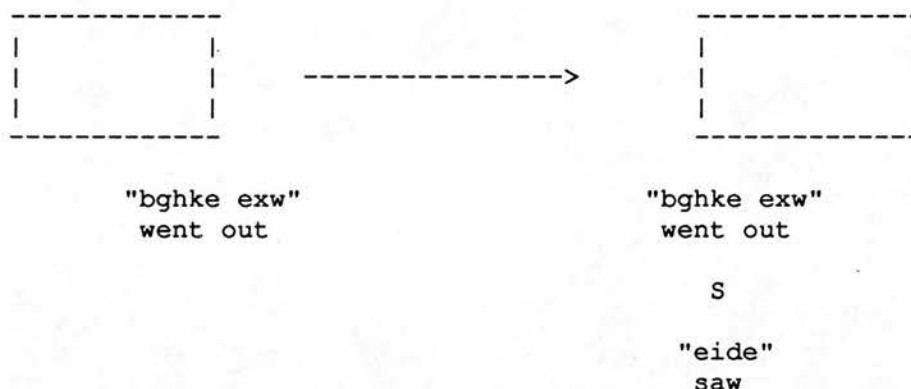
Preposed temporal adverbial clauses with a cohesive function come into two different types, containing given or textually-inferred information, respectively. Specifically, we have:

a) temporal adverbial clauses containing given information, that is, information already explicitly mentioned within the text, as in the following example:

- (74)
- a. H zwgrafos afou ekane to mpanio ths (e1) ebale to forema (e2) kai **bghke exw**. (e3)
 - b. **Otan bghke exw** (e4) eide (e5) ola ta pragmata taktopoiimena.
 - a. The painter after she had her bath (e1) put on (e2) a dress and **went out**. (e3)
 - b. **When she went out** (e4) she saw (e5) the place in order. (Amalia F., 12 years old)

To account for the textual role of the preposed adverbial clause, it is necessary to invoke the notion of event-segments. As shown in (15), an event can be divided into different segments indicating the onset, the nucleus and the coda of a specific activity.

The temporal clause "when she went out" appears at a point where some kind of change occurs. The narrated events "ebale to forema" (put on a dress), "bghke exw" (went out) are situated in a location (bathroom) different from the location where the other event "eide ola ta pragmata taktopiimena" (saw the place in order) occurs (garden). The event mentioned by the temporal adverbial clause appears at the second location and, in essence, functions as a device which bridges the spatial discontinuity between events by explicitly setting the reference time of e5 in relation to a previous event rather than leaving it to the reader to infer it. I have to stress that despite the mention of the same predicate, e3 and e4, although referring to the same event, single out different segments of it. The finite verb "phge exw" (went out) refers to the initiation, the onset, of an event, whereas the temporal subordinate clause refers to the termination, the coda, of the same event, as follows:



b) temporal adverbial clauses containing information which, although not explicitly mentioned earlier, could be textually inferred.

- (75) a. Meta apo auta h Eirhnh phge (e1) na allaxei forema kai na kanei mpanio.
- b. Sto metaxu ta duo paidia katharizane ton khpo. (D)
- c. Afou h Eirhnh **teleiwse to mpanio** (e2) forese (e3) ena allo forema kai bghke exw. (e4). (Thanassis P., 12 years old)

- a. After these Irene went (e1) to change clothes and take a bath.

- b. Meanwhile the two children were cleaning the garden. (D)
- c. **After Irene finished the bath** (e2) (she)
put on (e3) a clean dress and went out (e4).
(Thanassis P., 12 years old)

To illustrate the text building role of these forms, compare this example with a text built in a different way, i.e. a text where the piece of information that the girl finished her bath is an implicature to be drawn out of the sequence of the reported events rather than a piece of information which is grammaticalized through the use of a temporal adverbial clause as in (75c.).

- (76)
- a. **0** H kuria gemise mpogies (e1) kai phge (e2) sto mpanio gia na katharisth.
 - b. **0** Ta paidia sumazeban ta pragmata pou eican kanh kati kako. (D)
 - c. **0** h gunaika bghke (e3) apo to mpanio...
-
- a. **0** The lady was covered in paint (e1) and went to the bathroom (e2) to take a bath.
 - b. **0** The children were tidying up the things they had scattered around. (D)
 - c. **0** The lady went out (came out) (e3) of the bathroom... (George K., 10 years old).

Text (76) is not difficult to understand. Given world knowledge and the information which is explicitly mentioned within the text itself, the reader can infer the missing bit of information (that the lady must have finished the bath). It is this piece of information which in (75c.) receives grammatical expression. Preposed adverbial clauses of this pattern ("afou teleiwse to mpanio": when she finished her bath) are grammaticalized strategies of conversational implicatures at points sensitive to text cohesion as the points of topic change are.

The structure of the two texts is as follows:

Example (75)

Temp. Phr. + TOPIC 1

e1

Conn + TOPIC 2.

D

Sub. Cl. + TOPIC 3

e2
0 + e3
kai + e4

Example (76)

0 + TOPIC 1

e1
kai + e2

0 + TOPIC 2

D

0 + TOPIC 3

e3

In the light of the above discussion, consider the following excerpt:

- (77)
- a. oi mpogies lerwsan th Litsa h opoia phge sto mpanio gia na allaxei rouca kai na pluthei.
 - b. **Enw omws auth plenotan** ta duo aderfia ths shkosan ton pinaka kai skoupisan tis mpogies.
 - c. **Molis teleiwse to mpanio** forese ena allo forema kai bghke exw.
- a. the paints covered Litsa who went to the bathroom to change clothes and have a bath.
 - b. But **while she was taking a bath** her brother and sister put up the easel and cleaned the paint.
 - c. **When (she) finished her bath** (she) put on a new dress and went out. (Antonis S., 12 years old).

(a.) establishes a single topic which refers to various activities of one character (the painter called Litsa); the narrator stops at the mention of her intention to perform a specific activity (she went to the bathroom *to change clothes and have a bath*). The Greek verb of motion "phge na" (went to) indicates not motion but intention to perform a specific activity (for a discussion on this, see Newton and Beloudis (1980)).¹⁶ Other characters (the children) intervene in the meantime in (b.) and establish a different topic. Their activities, however, are presented as related to the activities of the previous character, with the text gaining in integration (for the notion of "integration" see, Chafe (1985b)). When the narrator in (c.) refers back to the painter already presented in (a.), he establishes a connection between (a.) and (c.) The narrator clearly and explicitly indicates the

performance and completion of the activity which in the first topic (a.) was presented as simple intention. Both temporal adverbial clauses establish a connection between different topics that share a common element (the same character as in (a.) and (c.) or anaphoric relations as in (a.) and (b.) (she...(a.) her sister (b.)). By referring back to a previous topic, the preposed temporal adverbial clauses play a clear anaphoric role within the text whereas by setting the reference time of the new event in a different topic, they function as cataphoric devices.

The intricate connection between information spread over two different topics is illustrated in a slightly differently way in the following example:

- (78)
- a. H mhtera tous meta phge sto mpanio ki **arcise na kanei mpanio**.
 - b. Ta paidia tote gia na mh stenocwrhsoun perissotero th mhtera tous arcisan na skoupizoun. O Kwstakis ebale ton pinaka sth thesh tou kai h Basw skoupise tis mpogies.
 - c. Meta **otan teleiwse h mhtera tous to mpanio** o Kwstakis ths carise mia anthodesmh me omorfa louloudia.
-
- a. Then their mother went to the bathroom and **began to wash herself**.
 - b. Then the two children to avoid annoying their mother further began to clean the place. Kostakis put the easel back in its place and Baso cleaned the paint.
 - c. Then **when their mother finished her bath** Kostakis offered her a bunch of lovely flowers. (Ntina M., 12 years old)

The temporal clause in (c.) refers to a character (mother) which constitutes "old" or "known" information in the sense that this character has appeared earlier (in a.) and it is by now established as given information within the text. Yet, the last mention of this character was made with regard to the onset of an activity "arcise na kanei mpanio" (begin to wash herself). Since other characters intervene in the meantime in (b.), the flow of the mother's activities is disrupted. These disruptions are compensated for by the narrator through the explicit mention of the coda of the character's activity the initiation of which was undertaken in (a.). This coda in (c.) acts as the reference time for the event that follows "ths carise louloudia" (offered her flowers). The textual role of preposed adverbial clauses can be presented diagrammatically as follows:

- ```

(79) --> a. onset or intention to perform an activity:
 | character X
 |
 | b. different topic -
 | activities undertaken by character Z
 |
--> c. coda of the activity undertaken by
 | character X in (a.)
 | (signalled by preposed adverbial clauses)...
 | subsequent actions of the character X

(80) |-> |--> a. activity of character X
 | |
 | |
 | |
 | |--> b. sub. cl - linking activity of character Z
 | | to activity of character X in (a.)
 | |
 | |--> c. sub. cl. - linking new activities of
 | | character X to the last activity in (a.)
 | |
-->

```

### Introducing Information

Contrary to picture A, in picture B there were not significant differences across groups with regard to the mean percentage of preposed temporal adverbial clauses used. The results of the Mann-Whitney tests have as follows: There is not a significant difference between groups 1 and 2 ( $z=-1.8792$ ,  $p=0.0602$ ), between groups 1 and 3 ( $z=-1.7452$ ,  $p=0.0809$ ), between groups 1 and 4 ( $z=-0.8206$ ,  $p=0.4119$ ), between groups 2 and 3 ( $z=-0.8422$ ,  $p=0.3997$ ) groups 2 and 4 ( $z=-0.9205$ ,  $p=0.3573$ ) and groups 3 and 4 ( $z=-1.2029$ ,  $p=0.2290$ ).

These results are related to the role preposed adverbial clauses were found to play in picture B: they are mainly used to introduce information. Consider the following typical case:

- (81) a. Kapote htan duo aderfia o Nikos kai h Zwh. Phgan sto dwmatio ths kouzinas kai o Nikos thelhse na katebasei ena bazo me glukho. Alla kathws anebhke panw sthn karekla gia na ftasei to ntoulapi glistrise to bazo apo ta ceria tou kai gemise to patwma apo to glukho. Ystera phgan sto dwmatio tous ebgalan ta paicnidia kai ta skorpisan edw kai ekei.
- b. **Otan hrthe h mhtera tous kai eide thn akatastasia** thumwse polu. phge mesa sto dwmatio tw'n paidiwn kai tous eipe na katharisoun thn kouzina kai to



dwmatio tous.....

- a. Once upon a time there were two children Nikos and Zoi. (They) Went to the kitchen and Nikos wanted to get the jar with the sweet. But as he was climbing a chair to reach it the jar slipped out of his hands and the sweet was scattered on the floor. Then they went into their room took their toys out and scattered them around.
- b. **When their mother came back and saw the mess**  
she got very angry indeed. (She) went to the children's room and asked them to clean the kitchen and their room as well....  
(Basiliki K., 10 years old)

Example (81) contains two topics, the first one (a.) referring to the activities of the children, the second (b.) referring to the activities of a new character, the children's mother.

For a narrative text to be coherent, the narrator has to establish who is doing what to whom. One of the basic tasks for the narrator is to introduce characters in the discourse situation and trace them across topics and subtopics. (see also Clancy (1980b) and Dubois (1980) and, for a developmental perspective, Michaels and Cazden (1986)). There is a possibility, however, that characters will not be introduced at all, and yet the text will be equally comprehensible. World knowledge in the form of coherent sequences (variously called "scripts", "frames", or "scenarios") guides the interpretation of information (see Tannen (1980) for a cross-cultural examination of the linguistic correlates of frames).

The story depicted in the second picture, "stealing sweets", invokes a script and along with it a number of additional characters. Since mothers are the children's main caretakers, the character "mother" is implicitly invoked by the discourse situation right from the beginning and need not be formally introduced. When it later comes to mentioning it, the narrator has to introduce the character before she can go on narrating her activities. And this is the function that temporal adverbial clauses play. Preposed adverbial clauses diverge from the established textual norm of main clauses to introduce a different character. Consider a similar ways of using preposed temporal adverbial clauses.

- (82) a. Mia mera o Giannakis kathws epeze sthn aulh peinase.  
Den hxere omws pou briskotan oi konserbes gi auto  
fwnaxe thn aderfh tou th Rhniw na tou deixei pou  
einai.....  
O Giannakis epeidh den eice orexh kathhse se mia  
poluthrona kai diabase ena biblio.

- b. **Otan gurise h mama tous apo ta pswnia** kai eide to patwma ths kouzinas lerwmeno katalabe amesws poios to ekane....
- a. One day little John as he was playing in the garden got hungry. But he did not know where the tins were kept and asked his sister Irene to tell him..... Because little John was sad just sat in an armchair and read a book.
- b. **When their mom returned home from shopping** and saw the kitchen floor (she) immediately understood who had done it.....(Apostolis Ts., 12 years old)

This pattern of using preposed temporal clauses did not appear in all texts. Some narrators introduced the character "mother" explicitly at the beginning of the text, as follows:

- (83) Htan mia omorph mera. H mhtera eice paei gia pswnia afhnontas ta duo paidia ths sto spiti. Otan ta paidia brethhkan sthn kouzina.... (Thanassis K., adult)
- It was a lovely day. Mother had done shopping leaving her two children at home. When the children went to the kitchen....(Thanassis K., adult)

whereas others preferred to stall the forward movement of the narrative line in order to perform the introductory function, as follows:

- (84) Ta paidia o Nikos kai h lambrini phgan sthn kouzina.  
**Xecasa na sas pw oti h mhtera tous eice paei gia pswnia.** Otan h mhtera epestrepse...
- The two children Nikos and lambrini went to the kitchen. **I forgot to tell you that their mother had gone shopping.** When she came back....(Dimitris K., 10 years old)

And consider the following excerpt of a text regarded by the readers as the best of all the collected texts, where all characters are introduced at the beginning of the text:

- (85) Sto telos tou kalokairiou h kuria Ntorothu eice ftiaxei gia ta paidia ths Tom kai Tzein kati polu nostimes marmelades, ap ola scedon ta frouta ths epochs. Topothethse loipon ta baza me th seira sto ntoulapi alla me ta entona crwmata tous kai to geustiko

periecomeno tous na fainetai kathe pou anoige ki  
 ekleine to ntoulapi htan kati polu skandalistiko gia  
 ton Tom kai th Tzein.  
 Ena apogeuma loipon den antexan ston peirasmo kai  
 kateuthunthhkan sto ntoulapi....

At the end of the summer Mrs Dorothy had made for her  
 children Tom and Jane different types of jam with  
 all the seasonal fruits.  
 She then placed all jars in a row in a cupboard, but  
 the spectacle of their bright colours and delicious  
 content appearing everytime the cupboard was open  
 was very tempting for Tom and Jane.  
 So one afternoon they could not resist any longer  
 and headed to the cupboard.... (Basiliki M., adult)

The findings of this section has repercussions on the way in which forms, and temporal adverbial clauses in particular, are examined in the literature on child language. It becomes evident that it is simply not enough to perform quantitative measurements of specific linguistic constructions within texts. Without the insights that qualitative research can give us, we run into the danger of comparing forms that should not be compared since they play totally different function within a text.

### 5.2.3. The Role of Participles

It has been observed that children in building texts adopt different strategies for establishing cohesion. Significant differences were found between age-groups with regard to the use of participles. The 8 and 10- year old children did not use participles at all. (1 and 3 occurrences are documented in the 12 year-olds' texts). The difference in the percentage of participles was not significant for the groups 1 and 3 ( $z = -1.4501$ ,  $p = 0.1470$ ) and 2 and 3 ( $z = -0.6916$ ,  $p = 0.4892$ ). Significant differences were found, as expected, for groups 1 and 4 ( $z = -4.9729$ ,  $p = 0.0000$ , 2 and 4 ( $z = -5.6129$ ,  $p = 0.0000$ ) and 3 and 4 ( $z = -3.4637$ ,  $p = 0.0005$ ). (For groups 1-2:  $z = 0.0000$ ,  $p = 1.0000$ ).

Participles are predominantly found in adults' texts, as follows:

- (86) tufige apo ta ceria kai **peftontas katw** espase  
 it slipped from his hands and **falling down** it  
 broke into pieces. (Christos L., adult)

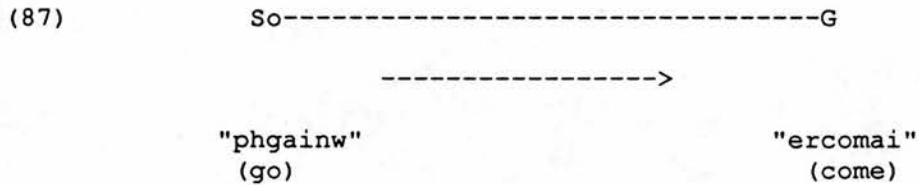
Two questions arise. First, what is the function participles play in the signalling of the connections between events and, secondly, what is their contribution in satisfying the principle of Communicative Efficiency and, therefore, in establishing cohesion?

### Greek motion verbs

The majority of verbs in participles are the motion verbs "phgainw" (go), "phgainw exw" (go out), "mpainw mesa" (enter) and "bgainw exw" (come out).

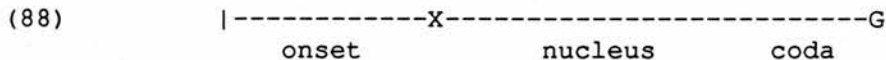
The verb "phgainw" (go) denotes motion and is similar to "ercomai" (come) as far as the objective structure of the scene is concerned; their difference lies in the point of view from which the scene is described (for a discussion on these topics, see Delancey (1984). and Taylor (1988)).

The verb "phgainw" (go) denotes motion (with the goal left implied or specified by the context). The verb "ercomai" (come) depicts the same action, i.e. motion, from So (Source) but from the point of view of someone who is situated at the terminal point of the action (G: the Goal), in the following way:



"So"= source , G =goal

The verb "phgainw" (go), when in the present tense and followed by an adverb ("phgainw exw": "go out"), denotes movement towards a goal; the adverb does not act as a marker of telic aktionsart in denoting that the person has reached the goal but it rather denotes determinate decision to go to the goal. Two cases obtain: either that the Agent is at point X, i.e. has moved beyond the onset of the event (by making all preparatory activities) and is embarking on the nucleus without having yet performed any segment of the nucleus activity, or that the Agent has already performed a segment of it and is nearing the goal (although the distance to the goal is left unspecified).



In either case, one can say "phgainw exw" ("go out"). When one has gone beyond point G, the expression to be used is past tense "phga exw" (went out). Greek offers specific verbs which, when in the present tense, they inherently contain mention to the attainment of the goal, such as "mpainw" (get in) "bgainw" (come out).

1) Overlap

- (89) Ekplhkth h mhtera **mpainontas stin kouzina** eide to bazo me to glukio katw kai paei ...

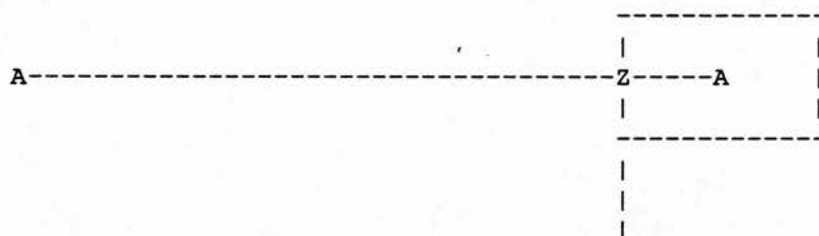
Surprised the mother **entering the kitchen** saw the jar with the sweet on the floor and goes... (Dimitris K., adult)

- (90) **Phgainontas exw** ta briskei ola opws htan prwta.

**Going outside** she finds everything in order.  
(Achilleas K., 23 years old)

The temporal relations between events in (89) and (90) can be illustrated as (91a) and (91b):

(91a)



De outside                      move                      Enter the kitchen  
by walking                      S  
see the vase

(91b)



be inside                      walk towards garden                      going out  
S  
finds

The events appearing in present participles "mpainontas sthn kouzina" (entering

the kitchen), "phgainontas exw" (going outside) share a common characteristic: in terms of their aktionsart, the verbs are culminated processes or accomplishments, that is they denote events which have reached their natural boundary after having occupied a certain period of time. The participles contain reference to the bounded end of an event, that is, they exclusively refer to the coda of an activity that began earlier. When examined, however, in terms of their own internal structure, both events are achievements or punctual occurrences. The verbs "mpainw sthn kouzina" (enter the kitchen) and "phgainw exw" (go outside) are the result of an activity that began earlier and occupied a certain period of time; the event itself, however, occurs at point Z. When one is in the kitchen (has moved from point Z to point A), one has to use a different verb "I am in the kitchen".

The events mentioned by the finite verbs "eide to bazo" (saw the jar), "ta briskei ola opws prwta" (finds everything in order) are achievements which present the event as occurring at exactly the same time as the event denoted by the participles. So, participles here indicate overlap.

## 2) non-overlap but immediate succession

- (92) **Teleiwnontas h Giolanta to mpanio ths** bgainei  
pali exw gia na taktopoiisei ta pragmata ths.

**Finishing her bath** Giolanda goes out again to  
tidy her things up.

In this case we deal with two accomplishments, that is, two events which are both right- and left-hand bounded and which occupy different periods of time. The first event comes to an end at point t1 whereas the second event at point t2, in the following way:

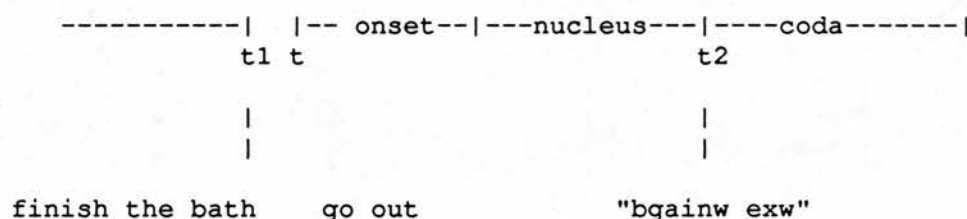
- |      |                    |           |                |
|------|--------------------|-----------|----------------|
| (93) | Teleiwnontas       | to mpanio | bgainei exw    |
|      | Finishing her bath |           | (she) goes out |
|      | t1                 |           | t2             |

The question to ask is this: if there is no overlap, why did narrators use participles?

There are pragmatic factors involved in deciphering the exact type of linkage that obtains between the participle and the finite verb in (93). The verbs "bgainw exw" (go out) (and its similar "mpainw mesa" (come out)) involve two time variables, one



for the source time and another for the goal time. Verbs either specify the goal time, leaving the source time implicit, or the other way round. In the case at hand, in the finite verb "bgainw exw" (come out), the time variable left hidden is that of the source time. So, where do hearers locate the source time? I propose that the source time is situated closely to the event mentioned by the participle, in the following way:



In this way, the source time of the second event is situated at point t, that is, immediately after the event mentioned by the participle but is left out of focus. As such, there is a relation of immediate succession between the two events, since the activity described by the finite verb had been initiated and developed soon after the event described by the participle was completed and before the event actually mentioned by the finite verb "bgainw exw" (goes out) took place.

#### *Metaphorical Cases*

- (94) Katopin h zwgrafos **xepernwntas tin amhcania ths**  
edwse ena filaki sto nearo...

Then the painter **overcoming her nervousness** gave  
the young boy a little kiss..(Dimitris K. P., adult).

The account proposed for (93) applies to this example too. The mental event "xepernwntas thn amhcania ths" (overcoming her nervousness) is a culminated process in that it requires a certain amount of time to come into existence. The predicate "overcome the surprise" refers to the end result of a process which consists of various sub-events but whose termination "overcome the surprise" is different in nature from all those events. The finite verb "edwse ena filaki sto nearo" (gave the young boy a kiss) occurs only when the final segment of the previous event has appeared.

### 5.3. Summarizing the Results: The Role of Relevance in Maxim Conflicts

Quantitative and qualitative measurements of Greek texts have indicated that connectives, subordinate clauses, and participles, i.e. forms which instantiate the Q-maxim, appear at points of topic change. Language producers give information at these points in order to facilitate the transition from topic to topic.

On the basis of these results, it becomes clear that the language producer in deciding whether or not to give information takes into account contextual characteristics, that is topic continuity and discontinuity (signalled through continuity versus change of characters, location and event-schema, respectively) and that our proposal, in order to be plausible, would need to incorporate contextual factors. But how would such factors enter the decision-making processes at hand?

It is with regard to this question that I come to the crux of my proposal with regard to the types of principles one should propose in order to capture the way in which conflicts between maxims are resolved. Specifically, I postulate that the Relevance principle is the one that captures the role of context and further propose that at the text level the Gricean maxims are not equal in status but relate to quite different things. The Relevance Maxim ("Establish topical connectedness" (as stated in discourse terms in (11)), for instance, belongs to a separate category. Taking as our basis the distinction between means and ends which was postulated to underlie the whole process of language production, it becomes clear that the Relevance maxim refers to a specific kind of goal a language producer would have to pursue. In producing language, satisfying relevance is not a means but rather a goal to achieve. On the other hand, the I- and Q-maxims along with the maxim of Manner (to be dealt in detail in section 6.5.1.), constitute an entirely different group. By relying again on the means-ends distinction, it is evident that both maxims refer to the *means* a language producer would use in order to achieve his/her goals. Both the Q- and I-maxims relate to issues of information (formulated respectively as "give as much information as possible" - "give as little information as possible"). Imparting information (that is, giving more or less information) is not a goal in itself; it is a means a language producer would have to use in order to reach a goal. One can use more or less information but for a purpose, not in a vacuum; either to help the addressee or tax his/her inferential abilities. For an illustration of the way in which such opposing requirements most clearly surface, one can resort to literary works. Repetition, for example, (that is, giving more information than is required) serves in such texts a clear purpose (expressing interactional alignment, building coherence, creating images etc.) (see Tannen (1989)).

The discussion so far has presented two sets of goals pursued by Greek narrators during text production: relevance and communicative efficiency. This set of principles does not seem to be different in nature from the principles underlying Greek oral storytelling. The results also corroborate findings regarding oral narrative text production in American-English (Collins and Michaels (1986)), where topical coherence was found to play the major role for text quality.

Let us now discuss in more detail the relations between the two principles proposed so far.

The principles of Relevance and Communicative Efficiency should not be thought of as rival principles; both are elements in a common structure, each with its role to play. First, there are similarities of nature in the two principles proposed: by postulating a goal, both establish an ideal, a value to be satisfied; it is by using these principles as a standpoint that texts are evaluated. However, it has to be made clear that the principles of Relevance "be relevant" and Communicative Efficiency "be communicatively efficient", despite being formulated in the imperative and containing an implicit "ought" statement (whose nature is discussed in chapter 8 of the thesis) are fundamentally different from rules. Rules have a binary, an either-or-not character: something either does or does not conform to a given rule. The above-mentioned principles, on the other hand, are open-ended and admit of different values. One may satisfy relevance and efficiency not in all-or-nothing fashion but to different degrees; the extent to which one actually achieves this is closely related to similarities in reader-writer's strategies. People who share (due to socialization) the same expectations about the way in which relevance and text-building can be satisfied are bound to assign higher value to a text they read in contrast to others whose strategies for satisfying relevance and coherence clash.

However, even if both Relevance and Communicative Efficiency are goals pursued in language production, they should not be regarded as two goals pursued independently but rather as situated in a single structure and relating to each other by means of inclusion. The principle of Relevance is not autonomous but emanates from Communicative Efficiency. By relating to two fundamental parameters, topic continuity and discontinuity, Relevance expresses a sub-part of the principle of Communicative Efficiency: the principle of Relevance states the *sub-goal* a narrator would have to pursue if s/he wanted to satisfy the demands of the higher principle, the principle of Communicative Efficiency, and create a communicative text. To be more explicit: in order to facilitate the smooth flow of information transmission within a connected piece of language, one has first to perform a number of different tasks: establish character identity, trace characters within a story, establish temporal relations. Or, to use a widely-employed metaphor, language production is somewhat similar to a hierarchical plan, the execution of which cannot be

performed unless the narrator has satisfied a number of small-range goals (for a fuller description of this analogy, see Levi (1979)).

On the other hand, the Relevance principle is not equal to either the I- or Q-maxim. Compared with them, it is a higher maxim, a second-order principle against which the injunctions of the more elementary maxims, as the I- and Q-maxims are, are weighed so that conflict cases are resolved. The issue is as follows: in order to satisfy the requirements of the Relevance Principle and establish topical connectedness, one has two options, either to choose to give the addressee as much information as possible (to satisfy the injunctions of the Q-maxim) or to give no information at all (satisfy the I-maxim).

Given this, it becomes clear that in terms of its structure, the Relevance principle plays a double role in text production in the sense that while, on the one hand, functions as a *goal* for the elementary, first-order maxims, I- and Q, to be weighed against, it constitutes, on the other, the *means* for reaching the higher principle of Communicative Efficiency. The Relevance principle is thus an intermediate-level principle through which processes of language production necessarily pass, since it both combines a means-ends reasoning. The resulting structure can be sketched thus:

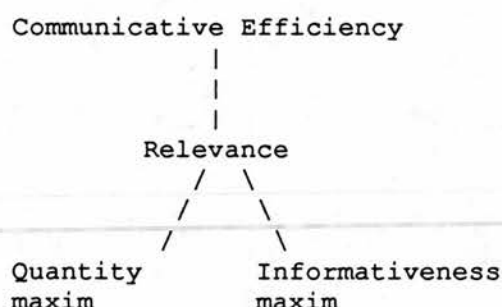


Figure 6: The Structure of Principles Giving Rise to Text Cohesion

#### 5.4. Event- Linking Devices at Points of Topic Continuity

The discussion so far has presented a number of strategies used by language producers across age-groups to establish reference at points of topic discontinuity. Contrary to this variety, language producers were found to use only two forms at points of topic continuity: the connective "and" and zero connectives.

(95) a. **O** H gunaika bghke apo th mpaniera

- b. **0** forese ta rouca
- c. **kai** bghke exw
- a. **0** The lady got out of the bathtub
- b. **0** put on her clothes
- c. **and** went out (Panagiotis K., 10 years old)

(a.), (b.) and (c.) constitute a single topic which refers to the activities of the same character: the lady. Zero connectives are used to link her various activities that take place in the bathroom, whereas "and" closes the sequence of activities.

Consider also the following clear-cut case:

- (96)
- a. Otan hrthe h mhtera tous
  - b. **kai** eide ta konserbokoutia petagmena sto patwma
  - c. **0** katalabe pws to ekanan ta paidia ths.
  - d. **0** Phge mesa sto dwmatio tous
  - e. **kai** tous eipe:
  - a. When their mother came back
  - b. **and** saw the tins scattered on the floor
  - c. **0** (she) understood that her children had done it.
  - d. **0** (she) Went to their room
  - e. **and** asked them: (Basilis B., 12 years old)

In (96) , "and" in (b.) is used to link an activity to a previous one (when their mother came back **and** when she saw all the tins scattered on the floor). (c.) and (d.) refer to resulting actions whereas "kai" (and) in (e.) closes the sequence of mother's activities.

In the light of the discussion reported in the previous sections, it is evident that narrators who used either form ("and", zero connectives) at points of topic change give minimal information to the reader by choosing to implement the injunctions of the I-maxim. Although this claim seems perfectly plausible as far as zero connectives are concerned, difficulties arise with regard to the validity of making the same claim regarding the semantic content of the connective "and" as different opinions exist with regard to whether "and" is an informationally-minimal or an informationally-maximal form. I am in line with the view that "and" is an



informationally minimal form which gets enriched as the result of pragmatic processes. The following discussion reports what these processes are and how they interact by proposing that the maxim of Manner plays an important role in this process.

It is a recurrent theme in the relevant literature that the basic characteristic of a narrative text is its iconic character (see Enkvist (1981)). The events are usually linguistically rendered in the way in which they took place in the actual world. Only rarely would ordinary narrators start their story "in medias res". In the case at hand, this is more improbable; the ready-made structure of the pictures moulds producers' output by seriously limiting narrators' options with regard to the way they should go about structuring the text. In this sense, it can be said that the whole structure of the narrative text is a discourse-level instantiation of the Manner maxim "Be orderly", that is "follow the order in which the events are presented". This maxim functions as the norm that underlies and gives rise to patterns of text production. Its role is important with regard to text interpretation too. The Manner maxim serves as the background assumption that guides text interpretation. So, the decision-making processes are as follows:

- (97) Given the background presumption of the operation of the Gricean maxim of Manner, which of the two maxims in conflict (Q- and I-maxim) should I choose at points of topic continuity so that the text is non-redundant?

It is because of the operating assumption of Manner that further information can be inferred with the resulting effect that the text gains in integration.

## **5.5. Giving Information through the I-Principle**

### **5.5.1. The Patterned Use of "and"- "and then"**

The discussion so far has claimed that the use of specific text strategies follows as the result of a rational assessment of how these strategies would contribute to the building of the text and help implement narrators' concern for establishing coherence. This, however, is not an easy task. We can get a glimpse into the multiple requirements a language producer has to coordinate during text production by attending to a specific issue surfaced on the texts written by the 8 year-old children: how forms expressing information (such as connectives) need to be coordinated within a text. To achieve this end, I investigate a particular structural pattern for event connectivity found in the 8-year-olds' texts, the alternation between two types of connectives "and" -"and then", with the aim of



sketching, first, the workings of the processes giving rise to its linguistic realization and, secondly, of generalising about certain factors determining text building. The discussion makes clear a specific discourse pattern for event connectivity that gives rise to an apparent paradox: how it is possible to give information by using semantically empty forms, i.e. by adhering to the I-maxim.

Before embarking on this discussion, we must remind ourselves that various objections can be made against the proposal presented below, all reducing to one main point: "How do you know and how can you be sure? How can you get insight into internal, cognitive processes that underlie language use"? My contention is that this can be achieved by attending to overt patterns in the actual texts. So, the first issue to be established is this: What is the distribution of "and"-"and then" in 8 year-olds' texts? And further, what insight can we get from quantitative measurements into people's decision-making processes underlying text production?

Two different patterns were found in 8 year-olds' texts, the first characterized by the variable use of connectives, the second based on two connectives, "and", "and then".

### *Describing the Findings*

#### *Pattern One*

Pattern one is shown in the following text-excerpts.

- (98)
- a. **Hstera** h mama tous malwse
  - b. **kai** tous eipe na ta tactopiisoun.
  - c. **O** H mama tous phge mesa sto mpanio
  - d. **O** kitachtike ston kathrefti
  - e. **kai** egine exw frenwn.
  - f. **Hstera** ekane ena mpanio gia na figoun h mpogies.
  - g. **O** Ta paidia ta hcan simazepsi.
  - h. **Hstera** h mama tous fwrese pardalo forema.
  - i. **O** O giostis pige se ena anthopolio
  - j. **kai** ths agorase louloudia
  - k. **O** h mama efcaristhmeni pire ta louloudia...

- a. **Then** their mom told them off
- b. **and** asked them to tidy things up.
- c. **0** Mom went to the bathroom
- d. **0** looked at herself in the mirror
- e. **and** got upset.
- f. **Then** she took a bath to clean herself from the paint.
- g. **0** The children had tidied things up.
- h. **Then** their mom put on a floral dress.
- i. **0** Her son went to a florist's
- j. **and** bought some flowers for her
- k. **0** mom very pleased accepted the flowers...  
(Mara K., 8 years old).

The text is characterized by the use of three types of connectives: "hstera" (then) (the correct spelling is "ustera"), "and" and zero connectives (no connectives at all). The questions raised are these:

Given a series of events linked with "and" and/or zero connectives, the interpretive pattern associated with it is as follows:

Given "two perfective events p and q in a narrative text which are linked with the connective "and"/0, interpret them as:

1)"p and then q".

- (99)
- a. hstera h mama tous malwse
  - b. **kai** tous eipe na ta taktopiisoun.
  - c. **0** h mama tous phge mesa sto mpanio....
- 
- a. then their mom told them off
  - b. **and** asked them to tidy things up
  - c. **0** their mom went to the bathroom....  
(Mara K., 8 years old)

Two questions arise with regard to this pattern. First, how do we derive the temporal meaning "and then" from the less specific form "and" and the semantically empty form of zero connectives? And further, since the Greek linguistic system does offer language producers a variety of specific temporal expressions (*meta*, *ustera*, *katopin*) why did children prefer the conjunction "and" and zero connectives at some points whereas at others they chose a more specific temporal connective "meta" (then)? In other words, what are the factors conditioning 8 year olds' use of the connectives "and" - "and then" within their texts?

Text production has been identified so far as the main level at which we can best capture the influence exerted on the structure of language by functional concerns, expressed here as maxims and principles. Within this framework, differences in text production have been described as arising out of the differential application of essentially the same apparatus: the I- and Q-maxims, with the discussion focusing mainly on cases where a decision between these two conflicting maxims had to be made. In the dynamic process of written text production, however, choices of the either-or type reveal only half of the picture of text production. The opposing requirements of the two maxims, the Q- and the I-maxim may actually co-exist within the same text. The sequential co-existence of principles that pose conflicting requirements does in fact underlie text structuring in all of the collected texts. By concentrating on texts produced from a particular age-group, the 8 year-old children, however, it is hoped that the processes involved can be made particularly clear since a number of intervening factors (as it happens in adults' texts) are not present.

At a first level, in the case at hand, it appears that the decision-making processes do not simply involve children choosing between alternative forms for expressing sequence. The forms "and" - "and then" are not synonymous but carry different informational requirements. "And" is a semantically minimal form (for a discussion of this point from the Relevance-theoretic viewpoint, see Carston (1988), Blakemore (1987)), whereas the form "and then" has inherent temporal meaning (Schiffrin (1987)). The injunctions of the I- and Q-maxims along with their interaction appear yet again. Since the I- and Q-maxim are the basic maxims language producers can use, the children too as language producers would have at various points within a text to deal with them.

Given the reasoning established in the sections so far, it ensues that the choice of one versus the other of the connectives "and"- "and then" reflects the sequential application of both the Q- and the I-principle. In other words, whereas the choice of the connective "and" is an instantiation of the I-principle, the application of the Q-maxim leads to the choice of the connective "and then". In this way, the choice of one principle or the other at different points is indicative of children's pragmatic

competence to weigh opposing informational requirements against the aim of establishing text relevance and, ultimately, cohesion, as follows: The event-linking strategies of (98) are illustrated below:

- |           |         |
|-----------|---------|
| a. hstera | Q-maxim |
| b. kai    | I-maxim |
| c. 0      | I-maxim |
| d. 0      | I-maxim |
| e. kai    | I-maxim |
| f. hstera | Q-maxim |
| g. 0      | I-maxim |
| h. hstera | Q-maxim |
| i. 0      | I-maxim |
| j. 0      | I-maxim |
| k. kai    | I-maxim |

*Pattern Two: The Alternation between "and" "and then"*

This account, however plausible it may sound, does not capture the whole story when it comes to texts produced by the second group of 8 year-old children. If we attend closely to the details of the contexts where the two forms were used, different conclusions are to be drawn. Consider, for instance, the following example:

- (100)
- |    |                                                       |
|----|-------------------------------------------------------|
| a. | <b>kai meta</b> mpike mesa sto loutro                 |
| b. | <b>kai</b> ekane mpanio.                              |
| c. | <b>kai meta</b> ta duo paidia meta ta mazepsan        |
| d. | <b>kai</b> ta ebalan sth thesh tous.                  |
| e. | <b>Kai meta</b> bghke apo to loutro.                  |
| a. | <b>And then</b> (she) went to the bathroom            |
| b. | <b>and</b> had a bath.                                |
| c. | <b>and then</b> the two children picked everything up |

(simultaneous events)

- d. **and** put it in its place
- e. **And then** (she) went out of the bathroom.  
(sequential event) (Nikos N., 8 years old)

Examining the semantic characteristics of the context where these forms are used, it appears that the form "kai meta" (and then) is used by the children as having no referential meaning at all. In terms of the semantic information it carries, it is a minimal form. If the form "and then" were used by children with its referential meaning (i.e. as a marker of succession), then we would not have found it to signal different types of relations between events i.e. simultaneity (as in c.) and succession (e.). The fact that the content of the stimuli pictures was controlled lends validity to such a claim. The type of relations between events is there to be seen by everyone. If children had written texts on free topics of their own, we could never be sure about the kind of the relationship that obtained between events in the real world. The following examples in which "and then" is used to link both successive and simultaneous events lend further support to this claim: A standard example is cited first and some other interesting cases are discussed later.

- (101)
- a. **Kai meta** h mama peige sto mpanio kai khtakthke  
ston kathrefth
  - b. **kai meta** ebgale thn podia ths kai ekane mpanio
  - c. **meta** ta paidia shkwthhkan kai phran ton pinaka  
kai ta katharisan ola
  - d. **kai meta** h mana tous forese thn podia ths kai  
phge exw
- 
- a. **And then** their mom went to the bathroom and  
looked at herself in the mirror
  - b. **and then** took off her overall and had a bath  
(sequentiality)
  - c. **then** the children got up and picked up the easel  
and cleared everything away (simultaneity)
  - d. **and then** their mom put on her overall and went out  
(sequentiality). (George P., 8 years old)

Consider now some interesting cases:

- (102)
- a. **Meta** h mana tous phge sto mpanio kai koitacthke

ston kathrefth kai hde ta calia ths.

- b. **Meta** phge sth mpaniera kai ekane mpanio gia na fhgoun h brwmies.
  - c. **Meta** ta paidia to ena **skoupaze** me th skoupa tis mpogies kai to alo **shkwne** ton pinaka...
  - d. **Meta** molhs bghke apo to mpanio etreme...
- 
- a. **Then** their mother went to the bathroom and looked at herself in the mirror and saw the mess.
  - b. **Then** (she) entered the bathtub and had a bath to clean herself from the dirt (sequential event)
  - c. **Then** the children one of them **was cleaning** the floor with a broom and the other **was putting up** the easel... (simultaneous event)
  - d. **Then as soon as she went out of the bathroom** she was shivering... (Dimitris N., 8 years old)

In (c.) the child uses imperfective forms to indicate sequentiality in the activities undertaken by two different sets of characters: the mother and the children. The imperfective forms "skoupize me th skoupa" (was cleaning the floor with the broom), "shkwne ton pinaka" (was putting up the easel) indicate that children's activities were taking place at the same time with mother's activities. There is a discrepancy, however, in the correlation between predicate phrase and connectives: the sequential marker "meta" (then) does not certainly indicate simultaneity. Similarly in (d.) the sequential connective "meta" (then) is used alongside a clause indicating simultaneity (as soon as ...). It becomes clear that the child does not have problems with the linguistic realization of simultaneity (simultaneity is expressed through verbal morphology). The connective "meta" (then) is used to perform some other kind of function.

Similarly in the following example:

- (103)
- a. eistera pige na louth,
  - b. **eistera** ta paidia ta **elcan sigirish**...
- 
- a. then (she) went to take a bath,
  - b. **then** the children **had tidied things up**...  
(Marianthi P., 8 years old)

Verbal morphology in (b.) makes clear that the event of tidying things up had



been completed before the event in (a.) "pige na loush" (went to take a bath). Temporal relations, however, as indicated by aspectual differences, do not coordinate with the use of the sequential connective "meta" (then).

*Discourse-Factors and the Use of Language: The Discourse Role of "And"- "And then"*

The empirical evidence presented attests to the view that young children balance opposing informational requirements by choosing linguistic forms on the basis of a highly variable and restricted body of information gathered as the result of their reading, writing and general experience with language. Despite that, the use of the connectives is highly systematic.

My claim is this: the choice of the connectives "and"- "and then" follows discourse-level concerns for text structuring. Their apparently random occurrence actually has an important structural role; it has organizational implications and it is in essence the key to the linguistic cohesion in those texts. The use of these two forms is not random but systematically attuned to discourse-level factors: signalling of topic continuity versus topic change.

In order to perform quantitative analyses that keep in line with similar quantitative measurements undertaken in other sections of this thesis, topic change was operationalized as subject change and the distribution of "and"- "and then" in each contextual configuration was examined. The use of "and" "and then" was found to be sensitive to the characteristics of the contextual type. Specifically, it was found that in the coreferential context there was a significant difference in the number of "and then" - "and" forms used ( $z=-3.8475$   $p=.0001$ ) and the difference was significant in both types of pictures ( $z= -3.2106$   $p=.0013$  for picture A,  $z= -3.4758$   $p=.0005$  for picture B).

The claims are validated by the text-excerpts presented below:

- (104)
- a. **eistera** peigane sto saloni (e1) kai ebgalan ta paignidia tous (e2) na paixoune.
  - b. **Elstera** eirthe (e3) h mhtera tous kai eide (e4) ti simbeni kai neuriasthke (e5) phge mesa sto saloni (e6) kai tous eipe (e7) na ta mazepsoun
  - a. **then** (they) went to the living-room (e1) and took their toys to play with (e2).
  - b. **Then** their mother came (e3) and saw (e4) what had happened and got upset (e5) (she) went to the living-room (e6) and told (e7) them to clean everything up. (Marianthi P., 8 years old)

The structure is:

**eistera (then) TOPIC 1:** children

e1  
kai + e2

**eistera (then) TOPIC 2:** mother

e3  
kai + e4  
kai + e5  
0 + e6  
kai + e7

- (105) a. **Kai meta** mpike mesa sto loutro (e1) **kai** ekane mpanio. (e2)
- b. **kai meta** ta duo paidia ta mazepsan (e3) kai ta ebalan sth thesi tous. (e4)
- c. **Kai meta** bgike apo to loutro. (e5)
- a. **and then** (she) went to the bathroom (e1) **and** had a bath. (e2)
- b. **And then** the two children picked them up (e3) **and** put everything in order. (e4)
- d. **and then** (she) went out of the bathroom (e5) (Nikos N. 8 years old).

The structure is:

**kai meta (and then) + TOPIC 1:** mother

e1  
kai + e2

**kai meta (and then) + TOPIC 2:** children (S)

e3  
kai + e4

**kai meta (and then) + TOPIC 3:** mother

e5

Closer examination of the use of "and then" in 8 year-olds' texts makes clear that the explanation centering on subject change as the only factor leading to the use of "and then" does not cover all cases. Although children indeed correlate topic

change with subject change, there were, nonetheless, found unaccounted for instances, as in the following example:

- (106)
- a. kai tous glistrise kai epese katw
  - b. **meta** ta paidia ekatzan kai den hxeran ti na kanoun
  - c. **meta** phgan sto domatio na paixoun ereixan ta paicnidia
  - d. **kai meta** hrthe h mama tous **kai** eide authn thn akatastasia **O** pige sto domatio kai tous leei....
- 
- a. **and** it slipped out of their hands and fell on the floor
  - b. **then** the children sat down and did not know what to do (change of subject)
  - c. **then** (they) went to the room to play (they) scattered the toys around
  - d. **and then** their mom came **and** saw all this mess **O** went to the room **and** tells them (change of subject).... (George Pap., 8 years old)

(b.) and (d.) are in line with the cases accounted for so far, both refering to a change of subject. But, how can we explain the use of "then" in the coreferential context in (c), that is, in a context where the subject remains the same?

The discussion on connectives in 5.2.1. has already made clear that various factors lead to the change of a topic and while they sometimes coincide to produce a clear-cut topic boundary, they may also occur independently. So, rather than interpreting of "topic changes" through the notion of subject change, it is preferable to suppose that topic change correlates with several kinds of transitions which are signalled by the use of the connective "and then" in cases of coreferential context. In summary, the factors which seem important in triggering the use of "and then" are:

#### *Change of Event Schema*

- (107)
- a. Kai meta h mama peige sto mpanio kai koitakhke ston kathrefth
  - b. **kai meta** ebgaile thn podia ths kai ekane mpanio
- 
- a. And then their mom went to the bathroom and looked

at herself in the mirror

- b. **and then** (she) took off her overall and had a bath. (George P., 8 years old)

- (108)
- a. ta duo paidia epezan boleu
  - b. kai h mpala paei ston pinaka
  - c. **meta** arcisan na klene giati erixan tis mpogies.
- a. the two children were playing volleyball
- b. and the ball went right up to the easel
- c. **then** (they) started to cry because they (had) spilt paint all over the place. (Antonis K., 8 years old)

In both examples "kai meta" (and then) is used to indicate a different activity within a series of activities undertaken by specific characters. The acts of entering the bathroom and looking at the mirror are regarded by the narrator in (107) as constituting a closely related series of activities that needs to be separated from the activity of changing clothes and taking a bath, although both series of activities take place in the same location.

#### *Change of spatial frame*

- (109)
- a. meta ta paidia ekatzan kai den hxeran ti na kanoun
  - b. **meta** phgan sto domatio na paixoun
- a. then the children sat down and did not know what to do
- b. **then** (they) went to their room to play with their toys. (George P., 8 years old)

The form "kai meta" (and then) separates two sets of activities of the same character, the children, marking their transition from one location (the kitchen) to a different one (their room).

## *Change of Characters*

- (110)
- a. kai thn lerosan.
  - b. **Kai meta** mpike mesa sto loutro kai ekane mpanio.
  - c. **kai meta** ta duo paidia ta mazepsan kai ta ebalan sth thesi tous.
  - d. **Kai meta** bghke apo to loutro
- a. and (the children) covered her in paint.
- b. **and then** (she) went to the bathroom and had a bath.
- c. **And then** the two children picked things up and put everything in order.
- d. **and then** (she) went out of the bathroom.  
(Nikos N. 8 years old)

Excerpt (110) is a clear-cut case of signalling change in character configurations. "Kai meta" in (b.), (c.) and (d.) indicates a new character. The way in which each of those factors, independently and in combination, leads to the use of "and then" is most clearly seen in the following example.

(111)

### *ORIENTATION*

- a. ta duo paidia epezan boleu

### *NARRATIVE*

- b. kai h mpala paei ston pinaka (e1)
- c. **meta** arcisan na klene (e2) giati erixan tis mpogies
- d. **meta** paei (e3)
- e. kai kanei mpanio (e4)
- f. **meta** skoupizan ths mpoges (D)
- g. **kai** ta taxtopiisan ta pragmata (e5)
- g. **meta** bgeni apo to mpanio (e6)
- h. **Okai** to agori ths profere louloudia (e7)

- i. **meta** agkaliasthkan (e8) kai h dio

#### CODA

- k. kai ezhsan auth kala kai mis kalutera

#### ORIENTATION

- a. the two children were playing volleyball

#### NARRATIVE

- b. **and** the ball went right up onto the easel (e1)
- c. **then** (they) started to cry (e2) because they (had) spilt the colors all over the place  
(*change of subject, change of event schema*)
- d. **then** (she) goes (e3)  
(*different character, different location*)
- e. **and** has a bath (e4)
- f. **then** they were cleaning up the paints (D)  
(*different character, and location*)
- g. **and** put everything in order (e5)
- h. **then** (she) gets out of the bathroom (e6)  
(*different character and location*)
- i. **and** that boy offers her flowers (e7)
- k. **then** they hugged each other (e8)  
(*new event schema*)

#### CODA

and lived happily ever since. (Kostas M., 8)

The structure is:



ORIENTATION

NARRATIVE

TOPIC 1: damage

kai + e1  
meta + e2 (event schema)

**META** + TOPIC 2: mother

e3  
kai + e4

**META** - TOPIC 3: children

S  
e5

**META** - TOPIC 4: mother

e6  
kai + e7  
**meta** + e8 (event schema)

CODA

It is interesting to see how the psychological reality of the topic is projected on the surface level of the texts through the use of paragraphs as in the following example:

- (112)
- a. phgane na fane omws ta kanane salata eistera peigane  
sto saloni kai ebgalan ta paicnidia tous na paixoune.
  - b. Eistera eirthe h mhtera tous kai ta eide th sumbenei  
kai neibriastike pige mesa sto saloni kai tous eipe  
na ta mazepsoun...
- 
- a. they went to have lunch but they messed  
everything up then (they) went to the  
living-room and took out their toys to play with.
  - b. Then their mum came and saw what had happened and got  
very upset (she) went to the living-room and told  
them to clear everything away....  
(Marianthi P., 8 years old).

The two paragraphs used by the child correspond to activities undertaken by different characters: children's activities - mother's activities.

Compare this pattern of text structuring with (113) in which the child, not having any clear means of delimiting the text through paragraphing, relies on the ready-made structure of the picture-sequences themselves. The picture-sequence consisting of nine (9) photographs in an arrangement of three in a row is reproduced below:

- (113)
- a. Duo paidia o Kosas ki Efh hthelan na fane merenta, kai o megalos aderfos, phge ne ftash, to bazw kai ton glistrise.
  - b. Hstera phgan sto domatio tous archsan na pezoun xorhs na sumbenh tipota hsera hrthe h mama hde th ataxies.
  - c. Meta hpe ta paidia na ta mazepsoun ta paidia ta mazepsan grhgora kai hstera h mama tous tous edose pagwto sto plio.
- a. Two children, Kostas and Efi, wanted to have some chocolate spread, and the eldest brother tried to reach the pot and it slipped through his hands.
  - b. Then (they) went to their room (they) started to play as if nothing had happened, Then their mum came and saw the mess.
  - c. Then (she) told the children to clean everything up. The children cleaned everything away and then (kai istera) their mum gave them an ice-cream on the boat. (Irene S., 8 years old).

It is also noticable that 8 year-olds' first attempts at punctuation seem to be attuned to and even rely on factors related to topic continuity and topic change. Look at the following text:

- (114)
- a. Mia fora htan duo paidia pou eithelan na fane kai to paidi anhxse to ntoulapi kai to bazo epese kai ta paidia phgan sto dwmatio kai epezan me ta paicnidia.
  - b. **Ystera** eirthe h mama kai eipe ti kanete eipe h mama grhgora na ta mazepsete kai ta paidia ta mazepsan.
- a. Once upon a time there were two children who wanted to have their lunch and the boy opened the cupboard and the jar toppled over and the children went to their room and they were playing with their toys.
  - b. **Then** their mother came back (she) said what are you doing mom said go quickly and clean everything up and the children tidied things up.

The text contains two punctuation marks which are relate to the topic structure of the text. The first chunk contains reference to a single topic: the activities undertaken by a specific character (the children) in various locations. The second chunk introduces a different character (the mother) and evolves around her

activities or children's activities which, however, follow those of the mother. The first topic is differentiated from the second one through two means: punctuation and connective usage (then).

The results reported here can be related under a wider research tradition, documenting that language producers are sensitive to points of topic change and systematically attune their choice of forms to such concerns. It has been made clear, for instance, that a cluster of various forms are used at such points such as preposed subordinate clauses (Chafe 1979) Definite Noun Phrases (Clancy 1980b), hesitations and pauses (Chafe 1985a). The results run contrary to the Piagetian orientation in claiming that children in their initial attempts at text building (spoken narrative texts) rely on an utterance-by-utterance basis. The quantitative measurements performed in this study indicate that children in their attempts at written text production rely on the global notion of "topic" and proceed to structure their texts on a topic to topic basis. This claim is in line with proposals from early language acquisition made by Peters (1983) regarding the role of formulae as a means of parsing the stream of spoken language. Previous research that has focused on the great use of "and- "and then" in children's narratives in British-English (see Cassell (1986) for example) has not adopted a discourse-level perspective and consequently the results cannot be directly compared. This makes it all the more worthwhile examining more data from different social groups within the same society as well as from different cultures. It would be interesting to see the units with which children operate at the text level and the factors on which they rely for their initial attempts at text building. A useful insight into cross-cultural variability in units employed in written text production comes from Arabic giving rise to the hypothesis that the delimitation of texts with clear-cut information processing units as sentences are may be related to the Western tradition. In Arabic literary texts, for example (Bayar (1990)), there is no unit corresponding to the typical sentence. Clauses can be combined to form paragraphs or even chapters with no signals of sentences-units. It might be that language producers use other textual means to signal the functions that sentences most normally play in the Western tradition. In this respect, a particularly useful insight comes from the work by Koch (1983). Koch found suprisingly great use of repetition in Arabic discourse by adult speakers which served clear discourse and rhetorical functions. It would be interesting to pursue this issue of investigation and examine the units involved in written text production across different cultures.

### 5.5.2. Zero Specifications at Points of Topic Change: The Nature and Consequences of the Operation of the I-principle

So far, evidence was presented that giving information at points of topic change through the use of connectives not only reflect concerns for communicative efficiency but is also in line with the readers' expectations regarding text structuring. All of them commented on the importance of establishing linkage between the various events; the use of connectives in particular was regarded as very important. In this way, "topics are linked to each other and the transition from each to the next one is smooth" (Chrisanthi, secondary school teacher, 25 years old). Similarly, the absence of connectives was particularly noticed and repeatedly stressed. Such comments were made in relation to a subset of texts produced by 10 year-old children whose texts relied on the use of the I-principle ("give as little information as possible") to establish text connectivity both at points of topic continuity and at points of topic change, as follows:

- (115)
- a. 0 Oi mpogies epesan apanw sto foustani tou koritsiou.
  - b. 0 Ta paidia luphthhkan giafto pou ekanan.
  - c. 0 To koritsi phge na kanei mpanio sto spiti ths.
- 
- a. 0 The paints covered the girl's dress.
  - b. 0 The children felt sorry for what they had done.
  - c. 0 The girl went home to have a bath.  
(George K., 10 years old)

Points of change in event schema as in (b.) or in configuration of characters as in (c.) are not signalled at the textual level.

Similarly,

- (116)
- a. 0 To koritsi eipe sto agoraki kai ta erixe kato ola
  - b. 0 to paidi stenocwrhthhke
  - c. kai phgan sto dwmatio kai epaizan
  - d. 0 h mama tous tous eipe na paroun ola auta pou erixan katw
  - e. kai ta mazepsan ola kai htan pali eucaristimenh

- a. 0 The girl told the little boy  
and (he) dropped everything down
- b. 0 the boy was sad
- c. and (they) went to their room and they were playing
- d. 0 their mum told them to pick up what they  
scattered on the floor
- e. and (they) picked everything up and (they) were happy  
again. (Antigoni M., 10 years old).

The relation between activities (result of the action occurring in (a.) and introduction of a new character in (d.) are not signalled through specific linguistic forms. As a result, the enumeration of a sequence of events gives the text a listing effect. The reader has to supply a lot of information; the greatest discontinuity occurs in (d.) when the activities of a new character are referred to without any mention to how they interlock with previous actions.

There were significant differences between the 8- and 10-year old children with regard to the use of connectives ( $z = -3.6493$   $p = 0.0003$ , both pictures added). It is interesting to note, however, that the differences are influenced by the type of context. The difference between 8- and 10-year olds regarding the use of connectives was significant ( $z = -3.4729$   $p = 0.0005$ ) for picture A but not for picture B ( $z = -1.5247$   $p = 0.1273$ ). This difference is interpreted to be due to factors responsible for the use of connectives i.e. topic change seen as subject change. In picture B, two subjects (mother -children) are involved in a number of activities. A clear-cut topic discontinuity occurs at one point within the text (introduction of mother as a character); the rest are small-level discontinuities that can be left unsignalled and not require specific linguistic means (use of connectives, for instance).

Table 8 makes clear the differences observed:

| Mean Percentage of Connectives                                            |           |           |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|-----------|
| Age-group                                                                 | Picture A | Picture B |
| 8 year-olds                                                               | 21.06     | 10.83     |
| 10 year-olds                                                              | 9.13      | 7.63      |
| Table 8: Mean Percentage of Connectives by<br>Picture: 8 and 10 year-olds |           |           |

The patterns used and their effects in people's evaluations can be best illustrated by citing teachers' contrasting responses on two texts produced by 10 year-old children who relied on different ways of event linkage.

(117)

#### ORIENTATION

Einaí anoíxh, kí o hlios lampei toso polu

#### NARRATIVE

pou o Oresths kai h Nikoleta anagkasthkan na mpoun (e1) mesa sthn kouzina na paroun treia koutia me cumous.

O Oresths anoixe (e2) to ntoulapi na parei tous cumous. Omws htan ligo kontos (D) kai tou epesan (e3) ta koutia sto patoma. **Meta** phgan (e4) sto dwmatio tous me ta paicnidia. Arcisan (e5) na paizoun kai na petoun edw kai ekei ta paicnidia. **Se ligo** hrthe (e6) kai h mhtera tous, kai eide (e7) olh auth thn akatastasia. **Meta** phge (e8) sto dwmatio tous, kai tous eipe (e9) na sugurisoun ola ta pesmena pragmata. O Oresths kai h Nikoleta arcisan (e10) th douleia. **Telos** o Oresths ki h Nikoleta htan eucaristhmenh (e11)..

#### ORIENTATION

It is spring and it is so hot

#### NARRATIVE

that Orestis and Nikoleta were forced to go (e1) indoors to get three cans of orange-juice. Orestis opened (e2) the cupboard to get the juice. But he was short (D) and he dropped (e3) the cans on the floor. **Then** they went to (e4) their room with the toys. They began (e5) to play and scatter their toys around. **In a little while** their mother came back (e6), and saw (e7) all this mess around. **Then** she went to (e8) the children's room and asked them (e9) to tidy things up. Orestis and Nikoleta got down to work. (e10) **In the end** Orestis and Nikoleta felt very happy.. (e11) (Orestis M., 10 years old)

The teachers commented on this text:

- The linkage is correct. Topics are linked to each other with connectives. (Chrisanthi, secondary school teacher)
- Good expression (Eleni Z., 25 years old, secondary school teacher)



- The expression is good but there are no adjectives. Lack of paragraphs (Stelios T., primary school teacher)

Underlying the vague comments of the type "good expression or correct linkage" there are specific strategies the school as a social mechanism socializes children to. Consider in contrast the following text and the comments made:

(118) Ena paidi efere (e1) mia filh tou sto dwma(tio) ths kouzinas. O Fwths etsi elegan to agori prospathhse (e2) na ftasei ena kouti alla epaise (e3) kai leroxe (e4) to patoma. O Fwths den noiasthke katholou gi' afto. (D) Phgan (e5) sto dwmatio me ta paicnidia ki archsan (e6) na paizoun. Sto telos ta erixan katw. (e7). H mhtera tous eide (e8) ta koutia pesmena kai etrexe (e9) na brei ta paidia. Tous eipe (e10) na sugirison thn kouzina kai me thn efkeria to dwmatio tw n paicnidiwn. Ta paidia eucarisththhkan (e11) pou den ta malose h mhtera tous. (George K., 10 years old)

0 A boy brought (e1) one of his friends home.  
 0 Photis that was the name of the boy tried to (e2) reach a can but it toppled over (e3) and (it) covered (e4) the floor. 0 Photis did not worry about this. (D) Went (they) (e5) to the room they had their toys and began to (e6) play. **In the end** they scattered everything around. (e7) 0 Their mother saw (e8) the cans scattered on the floor and rushed to (e9) find the children. 0 Told (she) (e10) them to clean the kitchen and given this chance the room with the toys. 0 The children felt happy (e11) that their mother had not scolded them.

The teachers' remarks are as follows:

- "The discourse is simple, paratactic with no linkage between topics. (Chrisanthi, secondary school teacher, 25 years old).
- "The way he writes is very simple for a 10 year old child" (Maria, Postgraduate student in Education).
- "He uses paragraphs. He does not finish the words.<sup>17</sup> The expression is not good" (Stelios, primary school teacher)

Diagrammatically, the structure of the texts has as follows:

**Orientation****Narrative**

|      |   |             |
|------|---|-------------|
|      |   | e1          |
| 0    | + | e2          |
| conn | + | description |
| and  | + | e3          |
| conn | + | e4          |
| 0    | + | e5          |
| conn | + | e6          |
| and  | + | e7          |
| conn | + | e8          |
| and  | + | e9          |
| 0    | + | e10         |
| conn | + | e11         |

**Narrative**

|      |   |             |
|------|---|-------------|
| 0    | + | e1          |
| 0    | + | e2          |
| conn | + | e3          |
| and  | + | e4          |
| 0    | + | description |
| 0    | + | e5          |
| and  | + | e6          |
| conn | + | e7          |
| 0    | + | e8          |
| and  | + | e9          |
| 0    | + | e10         |
| 0    | + | e11         |

The structure of the two cited texts can be best accounted for as resulting from the application of different strategies for text building. Each of the texts is built on different pragmatic principles: the predominant use of the Q-maxim versus the predominant use of the I-maxim. In the following discussion, texts from different groups as well which follow the second pattern will be discussed as an instance out of which a specific way to text-building is illustrated. The account put forward sketches the workings and the implicatures arising out of the interaction between the I-maxim and the maxim of Manner which also enters the stage to help us account for language production. The effect of the use of zero connectivity creates an impression of narrating through listing events one after another rather than integrating them into a structure.

- (119)
- a. 0 Ta koutia me ta crwmata epesan katw kai oi mpogies lerwsan ta mallia kai to forema ths.
  - b. 0 H Ntora (etsi elegan th megalh tous aderfh) tous malwse.
  - c. 0 O Dhmhtrhs eklaige enw h Eua ton parhgorhse.
  - d. 0 H Ntora phge sto mpanio...
- a. 0 The paint-pots toppled over and the paints covered her hair and dress.
  - b. 0 Dora (this was the name of their eldest sister) told them off.
  - c. 0 Dimitris was crying whereas Eve conforted him.
  - d. 0 Dora went to the bathroom (Elpinikh K., 12)

Text (119) has very litte interclausal syntax. Notably lacking are connectives and

adverbial clauses. In general, there are two types of structures that lend some special properties to the 10- year olds' texts that follow this pattern:

1. the lack of explicit lexical and syntactic markers to indicate semantic relations between utterances
2. a "pragmatic" topic tracking system, with zero connectives and verb morphology used to indicate both topic continuity as well as topic change.

But, if no connections are signalled, how can we interpret those texts? How did the children signal cases of topic change? Empirical analyses make clear that the 10 year-old Greek children relied on a pragmatic topic-tracking device building on a) great reliance on discourse anaphora and b) manipulation of verb morphology.

As argued, a necessary precondition for intelligible discourse is the establishment of cohesion among topics (Relevance maxim as instantiation of the principle of Communicative Efficiency). An important aspect of cohesion involves the tracking of participants across utterances and the signalling of the type of temporal relations obtaining between situations. It has to be noticed, however, that although the texts lack connectives, none of the readers suggested that the texts were incomprehensible or that they themselves had difficulty in understanding them. If so, we need an explanation of how it is at all possible for children to keep track of topics and satisfy relevance considerations within their narrative texts.

Taking a specific function (event connectivity) and tracing it across texts is a plausible way of breaking down the various interlocking levels of information. However, despite its practical usefulness, this line of analysis obscures the multiple interaction between forms satisfying different functions. The way in which the temporal line is signalled, for instance, cannot be examined apart from the way in which characters are traced throughout the story or spatial discontinuities are linguistically encoded. The texts written by the 10 year-old children in this sample constitute a particularly clear illustration of the way in which this interaction conditions the choice of linguistic forms.

Although children did not use explicit interclausal markers to signal points of topic change, this function is performed in their texts but through the use of different structures. The 10 year-old children, similarly to the 8 year olds, continue to rely (but in a more sophisticated way) on the discourse level to perform functions that older groups rendered through morphosyntax. Specifically, the basic pattern on which children built for performing topic change is that of discourse anaphora. Research (Clancy (1980b), Fox (1987)) has made clear that the alternation between zero anaphora and definite noun phrases in American narratives is motivated by

discourse-level factors; the alternation functions as the surface illustration of narrators' need to establish topic boundaries. It is this alternation on which children were found to rely to a great extent. Consider the structure of the following excerpt with regard to this issue.

- (120)
- a. **0** Ta paidia efugan (e1) kai phgan (e2) sto saloni ekei opou eican ta paicnidia tous.
  - b. **0** O Giwrgos kathhse (e3) se mia karekla kai phre (e4) ena periodiko kai arcise (e5) na to diabazei. H Katerina ebgale (S) tis koukles ths.
  - c. **0** H mhtera tous gurise (e6) apo tis douleies pou eice, phge (e7) mesa sthn kouzina kai ti na dei: (D) h kouzina htan (D) anw-katw. Phge (e8) amesws sta paidia kai tous eipe (e9) an to ekanan autoi.
  - d. **0** ta paidia ths eipan (e10) oti .....
- 
- a. **0** The children left (e1) and went to (e2) the living-room where they had left their toys.
  - b. **0** George sat (e3) on a chair and took (e4) a magazine and began (e5) to read it. Katerina took her dolls. (S)
  - c. **0** Their mother came back, (e6) went to (e7) the kitchen and what did she see: (D) the kitchen was (D) in a mess. (She) immediately went (e8) to the children and asked them (e9) if they had caused this...
  - d. **0** The children told (e10) her that.... (Panos B., 28 years old)

(a.) and (b.) refer to the activities of the children. Since the characters are of different sex, it is necessary that the narrator clearly differentiates their activities, so the use of names in (b.) (c.) refers to the activities of one character; mother is introduced and is subject to ellipsis. When in (d.) the children are introduced, i.e. characters which have been transferred during (c.) into a state of semi-activation, the narrator uses a definite noun phrase. The structure of the text (ex. 116) and the role of definite noun phrases in delimiting the topic and subtopic structure is illustrated below:

### Def.NP + Topic 1

e1  
kai + e2  
name + e3  
kai + e4  
kai + e5  
S

### Def.NP + Topic 2

e6  
0 + e7  
kai + descriptive  
0 + e8  
kai + e9

### Def.NP + Topic 3

e10

In the light of this discussion, consider the structure of the following text:

- (121) a. apo ta duo paidia tous xefeugei **h mpala** tous kai  
paei sto topio ths kurias
- b. **O h kuria** tous fonaxe
- c. **O** phge mesa na kanei mpanio enw ta paidia ta  
sikonan
- d. **O h kuria** ntuthhke kai bghke exo
- e. **O to agori** ths carise louloudia kai to  
agkaliase
- a. **O the ball** slips out of the hands of the two  
children and hits the lady's painting
- b. **O the lady** told them off
- c. **O** (she) went to have a bath whereas the children  
were tidying things up
- d. **O the lady** got dressed and went out
- e. **O the boy** offered her flowers and (she) hugged  
him (Achilleas N., 10 years old)

The general pattern is this: Definite Noun Phrases are used at points of episode boundaries, zero anaphora and the connective "and" for local event linkage, that is, linkage of events within the same episode. In Greek the pronouns are reserved for

a different functions; when used in a coreferential context, pronouns denote contrast, a function similar to Arabic (Eld (1983)).

Apart from alternation between Definite NPs and "and"/zeros, verbal morphology plays also an important role. Consider the following text:

- (122)
- a. **0** H kuria gemise mpogies kai phge sto mpanio  
gia na kaqaristei.
  - b. **0** Ta paidia **sumazeban** ta pragmata
  - c. **0** h gunaika bghke apo to mpanio kai to agori thn  
gunaika thn edwse louloudia kai agkaliasthkan
- a. **0** The lady was covered in paint and went to the  
bathroom to clean herself.
- b. **0** the children **were tidying up** the things
- c. **0** the lady went out of the bathroom and the boy  
offered the lady flowers and (they) hugged each other  
(George N., 10 years old).

The activities of the woman are presented in perfective past whereas the activities of the children which occur simultaneously with those of the woman are rendered in imperfective past. Aspect alternation delimits the type and relationship of the activities of different characters.

In addition to that, in Greek, the number of participants (singular versus plural) involved in a given action is indicated by the verb ending, as follows:

- (123)
- a. phge sthn kouzina  
WENT (3,s,pst,pf) to the kitchen (acc, f,s)
  - b. phgan sthn kouzina  
WENT (3,p,pst,pf) to the kitchen (acc,f,s)

In this way, one need not signal the character through the use of a specific lexical form. Verb morphology can do that.

- (124)
- a. **0** Fwtis den noiasthke katholou giafto.
  - b. Phgan sto dwmatio me ta paignidia...  
(3,pl,pst,pf)



- a. Photis did not worry about this.
- b. Went to the room they had their toys.....  
(George K.,)

Verbal morphology, however, is not adequate in cases where the characters involved are of the same age and sex; specific expressions would be needed to differentiate the information. In the case accounted for here, (picture B) the characters involved are two children and so the transition from singular (from the activities of one child) to plural (to the activities of both children) does not create difficulties.

### *Using listing for an aesthetic effect*

The listing of events, the pattern 10 year-old children used, in itself is not an oral strategy: it is the way in which it is used that correlates with text quality.

Consider an instance in which listing can be manipulated to bring about certain aesthetic effects. Consider, for instance, the following excerpt from a Greek literary text:

(125) Ekeinos milaei arga kai stathera. Den apeuthunetai se  
keinhn, oci, katholou. Milaei giati prepei na  
milaei. Tou milane. Ton aggizoun.  
Perpataei. Akouei. Gelaei ligo. Polu ligo.  
Stamataei.

He talks slowly and decisively. (He) does not address  
her, no, not at all. (He) talks because (he) has to  
talk. (They) Talk (3rd plural) to him. Touch (3rd  
plural) him. (He) walks. Listens. Laughs a little.  
Very little. Stops. (Mitropoulou, K. n.d.)

As the story-line evolves, the basic pattern established is short utterances consisting of verbs and/or adverbs. By relying on the alternation of verbs, the author not only builds a certain rhythm but, more importantly, performs a number of discourse-level functions; the tracing of characters is indicated only through verb morphology.

milaei  
(3,s,pr,imp)

milane  
(3,pl,pr,imp)

aggizoun  
(3,pl,pr,imp)

perpataei  
(3,s,pr,imp)

akouei  
(3,s,pr,imp)

gelaei  
(3,s,pr,imp)

stamataei  
(3,s,pr,imp)

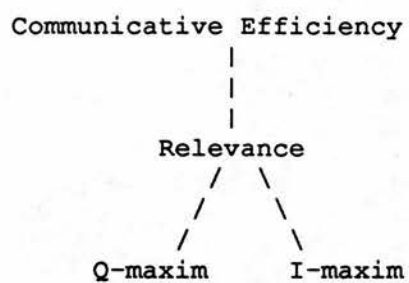
### 5.6. Interim Summary

The discussion in this chapter was directed by a concern to capture a part of the system underlying narrative text production and clarify the factors giving rise to a cohesive text in Greek.

The argument put forward has provided a detailed description of conflicts between two first-order, elementary maxims concerned with information; the Q- and the I-maxim. Their examination suggests a case of the way in which internal consistency in narrative textual logic is restored. The pervasive explanation in empirical (but not necessarily text-oriented work) of similar orientation suggests that all practical conflicts conform to one logical pattern: conflicts between maxims are resolved by the relative weight or strength attributed to each of the conflicting maxims by the language user. This proposal was found to suffer from serious defects. My own attempt was not to demolish it but rather to refine it in ways that would give us significant insights regarding narrative text production and style in Greek. For us, the answer lies in the postulation of second-order principles without which the present account would have been insufficiently coherent and explanatorily weak.

In summary, conflicts between first-order maxims are proposed to be resolved by a weighing process undertaken by the language user with the maxims weighed not against each other but rather in accordance to the extent to which they satisfy the requirements of the second-order principle of Relevance, an instantiation of a still higher principle, the Principle of Communicative Efficiency. It is, thus, concern for establishing Relevance and, ultimately, for satisfying coherence that lead narrators to prefer imparting information at specific points within a text.

The resolution structure emerging from this argument is as follows:



**Figure 7:** The Relation between Relevance and Communicative Efficiency

## **Chapter 6**

### **Narratives as Structures of Expectations: The Role of Genre**

In the previous chapter the hypothesis has been developed that narrative production in Greek is the enactment of a specific structure which is controlled by the second-order principle of Communicative Efficiency. This principle, taken to be the fundamental criterion by which language users coordinate their choices by weighing one maxim (such as the I-maxim) against the other (Q- maxim), offered the first criterion according to which the different textual strategies used by Greek narrators were distinguished.

In this part of the thesis, I am primarily concerned with the presuppositions and implications underlying my claim that principles build up into a system which may be unique to a particular culture. The discussion develops further the structure presented and focuses on this observation: in its application a pragmatic principle necessarily presents language producers with a certain set of restrictions while it ignores others. Alternatively: pragmatic principles can be better and more usefully thought of as limitations on the types of goals that people as language producers are allowed to consider when choosing between first-order maxims. Given this, I attempt to characterize in more detail the number and the nature of the second-order principles that guide processes of text production in Greek. From a developmental point of view, in order to achieve this we must tease out and analyze the double-level relation between pragmatic principles and metalinguistic knowledge, that is:

i) the influence exerted by second-order principles on people for gradually taking into account a great range of factors (cohesion, relevance, tellability etc.) in order to resolve conflicts between elementary maxims and

ii) the influence that increasing text-related knowledge exerts on the availability and applicability of pragmatic principles: the more knowledge one acquires about a specific discourse type, the more principles he is going to consider.

## 6.1. Tellability as a Second-Order Principle

As argued, narrative text production involves deciding between conflicting maxims, the resolution of which requires people to take into account the linear way of presenting information in texts and to satisfy the ease of information processing. Text production, however, is far from a simple process of information transmission; the response patterns in the collected texts clearly point to additional requirements. Consider, for instance, the following comments:

- Good expression, rich vocabulary (Eleni Z, secondary school teacher)
- Mediocre expression (Eleni Z.)
- Faithful description but not interesting (Argiri K., primary school teacher)

Teachers' response patterns are particularly interesting as they pinpoint to aesthetic or expressive requirements that must be met in narrative text production; in producing written narrative texts, Greek narrators are expected to perform two tasks, to coordinate the need to write a cohesive text with that of writing a good story.

In order to capture the aesthetic requirements imposed on people while producing language at the text level, we must postulate a principle which can achieve these requirements and explicitly state the effects obtaining from the specific way in which information is presented in narrative texts. I call this principle, the "Principle of Tellability"<sup>16</sup> and formulate it as follows:

(126)

### **The principle of Tellability**

make your text tellable

In the subsequent sections, I discuss the nature of this principle by sketching the way in which the Principle of Tellability actually works in real texts to give rise to specific linguistic choices and illustrate the relation between this Principle and the principles postulated so far. The discussion attempts to answer the following questions:

- a) What is the Principle of Tellability?
- b) What is the relation between the Principle of Tellability and the Principle of Communicative Efficiency?
- c) What is the role of Tellability in relation to life in this specific community?

### **6.1.1. Conventional End-States in Narrative Discourse-Games: The Nature of Tellability**

The key question in this work is: How can we account for language producers' differentiated patterns of language use? What is the nature of the processes that gave rise to them?

According to the argument so far, linguistic choice is generated by a person's concern for communicative efficiency; the rational language producer is presented as attempting to maximize cohesion. The language producer, however, is not just a communicator of information; in using language, one is necessarily called upon to play a variety of social roles (teacher, student, parent) as well as to operate in a variety of genre-types. Contrary to the emphasis given to the linguistic correlates of social roles (see Brown and Levinson (1987)), the role of genres in language production has not been dealt with in detail in the linguistic literature. The argument defended in this part of the thesis is that genres are structures, socioculturally-conditioned systems of expectations; a great range of patterns of language use is determined and constrained by expectations associated with the discourse situation or genre one is in. This chapter focuses on the nature of genre and its role in guiding and even constraining language producers in their use of language.

Discussions of genre have been conducted mainly within literary theory and no consensus has been reached on whether genre resides within a text or not. (For an overview of the notion of "genre" and genre-related issues from the perspective of literary criticism, cf. Poetics 10 (1981) and, from the educational perspective, Christie (1989) and Martin, Christie and Rothery (1987). The approach advocated here has its source in the work of Wittgenstein; genre is seen as analogous to games. In what follows, I address this issue by examining how the game-analogy accounts for our generic competence. My main purpose in exploring the analogy to games is to indicate some similarities between games and genres in order to put forward a conception of genre as a system and indeed a normative system. The discussion illustrates the ingredients of this proposal by making clear the difference between rules, regularities, goals and second-order principles.

The basic observation is this: a game (chess, for instance) does not exist independently of the rules that define it, nor without the participants' knowledge of its goals along with the specific means (which may be even codified) of achieving them. Let us see how this works in detail. A game is not played in a totally random way; there are certain rules that players have to follow; these rules specify the admissible moves each player may perform. The distinction between regulative and constitutive rules needs to be drawn here, though I will not labour this distinction. The interested reader will find in Henkel (1988) a lucid account of this distinction



in terms of the way in which it operates in literary studies. My own concerns are different and can be stated thus: what is the point of using rules? How do rules relate to each other? My claim is that in order to play a game, one must go beyond its rules; rules themselves do not have their own rationale nor can they be justified. Games are played to win. One cannot play a game, i.e. follow a series of rules unless one knows what counts as winning. It is only when this knowledge has been acquired that one can put into effect the various individual rules. Moreover, it is with regard to this knowledge that we can characterize a move as "good" or "clever". Such a characterization is valid insofar there is an aim according to which such an evaluation obtains. Given that this goal is there, it would be expected that rational players would choose only those moves that would help them reach the goal. We arrive, thus, at a conception of games as structured wholes: each local-level structure (i.e. each move) is embedded within a whole and receives its interpretation only as part of this whole and in relation to the aim pursued (to win the game).

But stating what counts as winning and losing is not stating yet another rule. It is to assert a value, to identify what is the "right" thing to pursue in the specific situation. Winning and losing are thus overarching values that give rationale to individual choices.

Let us now see how this background can help us account for our generic competence. The basic premise is that during text production a situation is created encompassing the following characteristics:

- There is an addresser (the writer in this case) who puts forward a message
- There is at least one addressee
- The whole process operates along certain guidelines; it is expectation-driven. For the whole process to run smoothly, it is necessary that interlocutors realize that they are engaged in a specific type of interaction. (This point has special application to the way readers should approach literary work (poems, prose, fairy-tales) which may deviate from world-knowledge as well as normal patterns of language use).

It is generally agreed that in communicating through language narrators have to create a discourse/text situation (narrative, argumentative etc); they have to exploit the language inventory and choose among the linguistic means available in order to create a narrative world. What should be stressed, however, is that, in spite of appearances, the whole process does not operate in a completely unconstrained way, but rather works along socioculturally-prespecified guidelines that impose essential constraints and delimit the range of available choices. A major issue that contemporary Discourse Analysis has missed out is the role of conventions in the

process of text production: the fact that each genre has its own requirements which determine the extent and effect of individual choices. An interesting attempt to capture these requirements is to be found in Ryan (1979) who argues that generic competence forms part of our communicative competence. According to Ryan, generic competence consists of rules that apply to all levels of description, that is:

- *semantic rules* which deal with a genre's micro- and macro-structure. Such rules postulate that a narrative text, for example, consists of an orientation section, a section that includes the complicating action and the coda; (see Labov and Waletzky (1967)); that it mainly contains action plus state predicates and is centered around actions performed by human or human-like agents.
- *syntactic rules* which capture a genre's syntactic regularities, such as the use of imperative in English for cooking instructions, the favored use of coordination in spoken narratives (Chafe (1987)) etc.
- *pragmatic rules* which specify the way a genre should be used in communication, that is, the goal to be attained.

Ryan in essence invokes a normative system that captures the characteristics of genre at any possible level. Although the work reported in this thesis centres on the relation between genres and normativity, there is a difference to the level on which normativity is to be located. My claim is that it is only at the pragmatic level that we can enter into a discussion on normative concepts. The syntactic and semantic features of a genre must be handled, not in terms of rules, but of regularities. Rules invoke a stringent requirement that something must be done, a requirement that is not always borne out by empirical analyses of real texts. A narrator, for instance, may omit the orientation section and plunge straight into the story for a purpose: to enhance the effect on the reader (see Pratt (1977)). In this way, it is better that the list of semantic and syntactic features isolated through empirical analyses be seen as a set of means (similarly to the moves in a game) from which one can choose in order to reach a particular goal; as such, the means are subject to description rather than to prescription. But, if so, what is the goal that guides the selection of means? As proposed already in the introduction (section 1.3), goals are given by society. Within a specific situation, there can be only certain ends to be achieved, those whose legitimacy or appropriateness is sanctioned by the culture.

But what can those goals be? Linguists have pointed out that a hearer/reader may not always decipher speaker's/writer's goals, with the result that misunderstandings occur (see Tannen (1984),(1986a) for an empirical illustration of this point). A number of factors can be used by the hearer in the process of deciphering intentions: the speech acts an actual utterance may convey, the social relationship between speaker-hearer, etc. Within certain situations, however, a hearer does not need to enter into detailed decision-making processes regarding the

intentions of the speaker/writer. There are situations in which decision-making processes are crucially shortened and genres are one of them. It is my contention that genres do not instigate detailed decision-making processes regarding the goals to be pursued. The question to ask is not "What do I *want* to achieve?" but rather "What *should* I pursue?", i.e. "What is the legitimate goal within this situation?" The knowledge regarding the goals to achieve within genre-types has been conventionally established, is socially transmitted (through socialization processes) and guides persons in the way in which they weigh different options in order to make a choice. As part of their socialization, people, apart from specific structural features constitutive of particular genres, acquire constraints on the possible goals for specific discourse types. This point can be succinctly summarized as follows:

(127)

#### **Cultural Constraint on Intention**

A speaker/writer can intend to achieve only those goals (ends) that are legitimately sanctioned by his/her culture concerning the genre under examination.

Intuitively, when examining prototypical types of discourse-situations, this account is borne out. By giving cooking instructions, for example, an addresser can only aim to make the addressee perform an action (follow the instructions when cooking); through an essay or a medical book, one aims primarily to impart a certain kind of information; through a fairy-tale or a novel, one aims to present the addressee with an interesting story, although combinations of goals are not rare: in an autobiographical story or a historical novel, for instance, one may aim to give both information (capture the details of life during a specific period) as well as aesthetic pleasure. We all know these facts, but in an intuitive and unsystematic way: I attempt here to present them in a more disciplined and orderly way. This is, in essence, a process of coming to know better what one already knows in a merely intuitive way. I am looking thus for a descriptive system which would not only explain the facts and give a coherent interpretation of narrative discourse in terms of some basic features but also situate storytelling as an instance of the general discourse of a particular community.

With regard to written narrative text production in Greek, and taking into account the teachers' comments, a plausible hypothesis could be that Tellability is one of the end-states Greeks *expect* to be satisfied in narratives. Whether Tellability is the only end-state to aim at within narrative discourse in Greek has yet to be established. It remains to be seen whether plain expectation or the stronger notion of convention is the element that can adequately capture the nature of Tellability. Rather than defining the role of Tellability right from the outset, I shall let it emerge from the discussion that follows. For the moment, the data point to this direction:

people identify Tellability with one among a range of goals to be satisfied by narrators (the others, as documented, are Communicative Efficiency and Relevance).

A way of approaching the subject of convention versus plain expectation is given below in a type of shorthand statements which integrates Lewis' (1969) account of normative systems and reads as follows:

- (128) For the members of population X, Tellability is a *convention* if and only if it is true that, and it is common knowledge in Population that, in almost any instance of Storytelling among members of P,
- i. almost everyone conforms to Tellability
  - ii. almost everyone expects almost everyone else to conform to Tellability
  - iii. almost everyone has approximately the same preferences regarding all possible combinations of other goals
  - iv. almost everyone would prefer that anyone conforms to a certain set of goals in a specific order of priority with Tellability on the top.

## 6.2. Second-Order Principles and Style

The discussion so far, although having demonstrated that a number of forms (connectives, subordinate clauses, participles etc.) function as the surface realizations of the injunctions of the Q- maxim: "give information to the addressee", has not yet considered the exact processes by which this information is realized as different surface forms. How do people make a choice between specific linguistic forms? What are the factors leading some of them to the choice of connectives and others to the use of temporal adverbial clauses and participles? Given that the linguistic system offers language producers a number of options, and given the fact that consistent patterns of language use appear across age-groups, our account would be explanatorily weak unless it sketched the processes by which people are led towards the choice of specific forms.

In what follows, I argue that the processes involve two different steps, the sources for my claims being twofold. First, by considering children's texts, specific surface patterns were isolated which gave us the opportunity to disentangle many mechanisms that are latent in smooth texts produced by adults. Moreover, the comments made by readers on a subset of the collected texts are particularly



illuminating, as they clearly illustrate what features people regard as conducive to text quality.

On the basis of these sources, the following two levels of decision-making processes are proposed:

- given the two maxims, the I- and Q- maxim, which one should I choose? In other words, should I give information to the addressee or not?
- having decided to give information, how can I render this information linguistically? What forms should I choose?

Chapters 4 and 5 have discussed the first point in detail, illustrating the processes involved and sketching the reasoning underlying the selection of information by narrators. This chapter is mainly concerned with providing an answer to the second point. It must be stressed right from the beginning, however, that the actual way in which people choose specific forms is not as clear-cut as will be sketched below. As Just and Carpenter (1980) argue with regard to comprehension, there is a difference between people performing tasks and having awareness of their internal structure. As they point out:

"...despite its apparent simplicity, comprehension includes a myriad of subprocesses, each of which by itself constitutes a formidable computational task.....All these processes occur so quickly that their richness is underestimated. Because of the sheer speed of comprehension, it is difficult for the reader to explain how he came to understand a passage. That task is left to those who study comprehension". (ix)

In the case at hand, due to the automaticity of the task (as the production of a narrative text is) and given the ready-made structure of the stimulus material, language producers (and more to our concerns here, adults) do not seem to be at all times particularly aware of the actual nature of the decision-making processes in which they were involved, but it will be shown that these processes do actually take place since they leave surface markers (see also Karmiloff-Smith (1986b)). The way in which I answer the question about how people make a choice among different forms comes from attending to a closely related one: what is the relationship between the principle of Tellability and that of Communicative Efficiency? how do they both relate to informativeness and how is their interaction reflected at the surface level of texts?

The Tellability Principle, in the way it is formulated in (126), specifies a goal to be pursued by the narrator when producing language at the text level. It is evident that in order to satisfy its injunctions, the narrator has to make a choice between those maxims specifying the means one can use for transmitting information.

There are two such maxims whose operation has been described in previous sections (chapter 4, 5), the I- and the Q- maxim. So far, the discussion has been mainly concerned with presenting empirical evidence that would indicate the way in which these maxims are put to work by people for the purpose of satisfying the higher principle of Communicative Efficiency. But, if the same apparatus is used for the Tellability Principle, what are the processes involved? And more to the point, what is the difference between the Tellability principle and the rest principles? What characteristic, distinguishing the principle of Tellability from the others, would justify its separate existence? According to the basic premises of this work, we can only obtain an answer to this question through empirical procedures. To this end, the actual data are examined in detail to see if they afford any insight into the way in which people resolve the conflicts between the two maxims.

### **6.3. I-Maxim and Tellability**

#### **6.3.1. "And"- "And then" and Tellability**

In the texts produced by the 8 year-old Greek children in this sample, a close relationship was found to obtain between the flow of information, the hierarchical structure of the text and the use of connectives. The interesting issue, dealt with in this section, however, is not just to isolate patterns of connective use but to illustrate the factors involved in children's attempts to cope with the task of event connectivity in the way in which they did.

According to my argument so far, in the process of rendering information linguistically, narrators come up with the injunctions of two different second-order principles, the principle of Communicative Efficiency and that of Tellability. There is thus the need to make a decision, because each of these principles contains different demands, in the sense that while one (Communicative Efficiency) picks out certain features as necessarily to be followed ("facilitate the flow of information from each topic to the next one"), the other principle (Tellability) picks out another set ("create a tellable text"). Given this, the narrator is faced with the problem of determining which of these two principles is appropriate to be used for expressing the event line and establishing event connectivity within the text.

The way in which the injunctions of the two second-order principles condition text-structuring can best be seen from their reflections at the surface level of the texts; two patterns of event connectivity are found in the 8 year-olds' texts. The most frequent one is the patterned alternation between the forms "and" - "and then", used as a means of delimiting the topic structure of the text. As a result, a group of 8 year olds created highly repetitive texts.



- (129)
- a. **meta** epezan (D) me ta paicnidia
  - b. **meta** otan hrthe (e1) h mama tous mphke mesa (e2)  
kai fwsa kai fwnaze (D)
  - c. **meta** ta paidia phgan (e3) kai ta mazepsan (e4)
- 
- a. **then** they were playing with their toys (D)
  - b. **then** when their mother came back (e1) went in (e2)  
and (she) was shou and she was shouting (D)
  - c. **then** the children went back (e3) and  
cleaned (e4) everything up (e4)  
(Dimitris Mp., 8 years old).

Text (129) is characterized by the repetitive use of "meta" (then).

Similarly in the following text:

- (130)
- a. **meta** paei (e1) kai kanei mpanio (e2)
  - b. **meta** skoupizan tis mpoges (D) kai ta taxtopiisan  
ta pragmata (e3)
  - c. **meta** bgeni (e4) apo to mpanio..
- 
- a. **then** (she) goes inside (e1) and takes a bath  
(e2)
  - b. **then** (they) were cleaning the paint (D) and  
put things in order (e3)
  - c. **then** she comes out (e4) of the bathroom...  
(Antonis K., 8 years old)

In both texts, there is a clear division of labour in the use of the two connectives: "meta" (then) functions at the global level to signal the episodic structure of the text whereas "kai" (and) is used at the local level to link events to each other within episodes. The structure of both texts is depicted as follows:

Text (129)  
**META** + TOPIC 1

D

**META** TOPIC 2

e1

e2

kai + D

**META** topic

e3

kai + e4

Text (130)

**META** TOPIC

e1

kai + e2

**META** TOPIC

D.

kai + e3

**META** TOPIC

e4

The question as to the relation between the two second-order principles makes it evident that this group of 8 year-old children, in establishing event linkage, assigned higher priority to the Principle of Communicative Efficiency than to the Principle of Tellability. The children are seen as more keen to manage the flow of information by delineating the topic structure of the story (through the consecutive use of "then") rather than to create a tellable text (by substituting "then" for a different connective). But why is this so? Why is it that the children used such repetitive means to establish cohesion in their texts?

The proposal advanced in this thesis is that processes of text production and interpretation operate in a systematic way on the basis of a certain set of principles and maxims. These maxims establish a structure, a system, whose variable operation gives rise to different textual styles. But the issue of how and why this structure is actually employed by specific people or groups of people cannot be properly accounted for except by reference to social, cognitive and interactional factors, that is by taking into account extra-linguistic pressures and examining the way they shape the structure of messages. In the case at hand, two possible explanations can be given for the repetitive use of connectives: either the children do not possess the knowledge that would guide them in the process of text production and especially in the process of choosing among linguistic forms; or they do have this knowledge but, due to the multiple demands of the task, they cannot appropriately implement it. The oral stories cited and discussed in chapter 3 lead us to discard the first in favour of the second proposal. Additional support can be gathered by examining a different, less frequently-attested, pattern of establishing event connectivity, characterized by variability in the types of connectives.

The Greek linguistic system offers language producers a number of alternative forms such as "meta" (then), "katopin" (subsequently), "istera" (then), all of which

can be used to indicate sequentiality. It is interesting to note that some 8 year-old children exploited this option in the linguistic rendering of event connectivity as follows:

- (131)
- a. **meta** h mpala phge (e1) ston pinaka pou zografhze  
h mama tous kai o phnakas epese katw (e2) kai th  
mama tous th gemhsan (e3) h mpogies.
  - b. **Hstera** phge (e4) sto loutro na kanh mpanio giath  
th lerosan h mpogies.
- 
- a. **then1** the ball hit the easel (e1) where  
their mother was painting and the easel was knocked  
over (e2) and their mother was covered in paint. (e3)
  - b. **Then2** (she) went to the bathroom (e4) to take a  
bath because she was covered in paint.  
(Agis Bl., 8 years old)

Example (131) is different from (129) and (130) as far as the event linkage is concerned. The narrator uses two different types of "and then" connectives, "meta" and "ustera" to indicate the relations between events as follows:

**meta (then1)**

|     |   |    |
|-----|---|----|
|     |   | e1 |
| kai | + | e2 |
| kai | + | e3 |

**hstera (then2)**

e4

A still different way of building narrative texts is found in the following excerpt:

- (132)
- a. to paidi pou htan megalhtero phge na parei thn  
merenta kai glustraiei kai peftei sta plakakia kai  
ghnetai mhkra mhkroutsika komatakia.
  - b. **Meta** phgan sto dwmatio tous kai pexane
  - c. **otan hrthe h mama tous** hde akatastasia mphke  
**thumwmenh** sto dwmatiw tous kai tous eipe  
**me austro tropo** na ta katharisete.
- 
- a. the eldest child tried to reach the chocolate spread  
and it slips from his hands and (it) falls it and  
breaks into small smallish pieces

- b. **Then** they went to their room and played with their toys
- c. **when their mom came back** she saw the mess and **very upset** she went to the children's room and **in a very strict way** she told them you should clear everything away (Dimitris A., 8 years old)

Apart from connectives and adverbial clause, the text contains a variety of evaluative forms, such as adverbs and adjectives. (their textual role is discussed in section 6.8.).

Given these results, I propose that this variability in establishing event linkage is the first signal of children's sensitivity to Tellability. The children of this group (examples (131), (132)) are keen to perform two different functions with the use of connectives: first, to manage the informational flow and, secondly, to establish variability in the event linkage. However, it is not only the nature of the second-order principles that differ. Underlying the choice of one or the other, there are different ways of implementing the injunctions of the elementary Q- and I-maxims. The two patterns of event linkage indicate that each second-order principle implements the lower, information-related maxims in a different way. "Meta" and "ustera" are not semantically minimal forms. The children in the second group create variability by following the injunctions of both the I-maxim (use of "and", zero connectives) and Q-maxims (use of "meta", "ustera").

Given these, it is evident that in the first pattern of event linkage under the need to satisfy multiple requirements, the children chose to satisfy the most urgent task first: to put forward a cohesive text. But then there is another question to be answered: What is it that makes the principle of Communicative Efficiency more accessible than the principle of Tellability? The answer to this question may provide a glimpse into the issue raised in this chapter regarding the nature of the Principle of Tellability and the relation between this principle and the others.

### 6.3.2. Tellability Over Communicative Efficiency: The Use of the I-Maxim as a Tellability Choice

To answer this issue, let us concentrate on cases where language producers, through the use of zero connectives, chose to follow the injunctions of the I-principle and not give any information to the reader at points of topic change. The following example illustrates the textual effects brought about by the predominant use of the I-maxim:

- (133) a. Mia fora htan duo filh o Thlemacos o fataoulas kai  
h Aristeia

- b. **O** phgan (e1) na paroun mia konserba **kai** thn erixan (e2) kato
  - c. **O** phgan (e3) sto domatio me ta paicnidia **kai** ta anakatosan ola (e4)
  - d. **O** h mhtera hde (e5) sth kozina thn konserba **kai** akouse (e6) fwnes sto saloni kai tous eipe (e7) na ta sumazepsoune.
- a. Once upon a time there were two friends Telemahos the greedy and Aristeia
  - b. **O** (they) Went (e1) to the kitchen to take a tin **and** dropped it down (e2)
  - c. **O** (they) Went to (e3) their room with the toys **and** scattered (e4) everything around
  - d. **O** their mother saw (e5) the tin on the kitchen floor **and** heard (e6) voices coming from the living room **and** told (e7) them to clean everything up (Achilleas N., 10 years old).

If we focus our attention on the story itself, we see it divided into three main segments. (a.) provides background information by way of introducing the two characters, (b.) and (c.) refer to the activities of the two children in various spatial locations (b:in the kitchen, c:in their room) whereas (d.) refers to a different topic, by introducing and describing the activities of the mother as a character. The structure is as follows:

#### ORIENTATION

#### NARRATIVE

#### **O TOPIC**

e1  
kai + e2  
0 + e3  
kai + e4

#### **O TOPIC**

e5  
kai + e6  
kai + e7

In the explanation offered (97), it was pointed out that the overarching use of the I-maxim through zero connectives is attuned to the pervasive operation of the Maxim of Manner; the presumption of the operation of the latter facilitates the understanding of the relations between the various events in a narrative rendering the explicit coding of connections unnecessary. This section supplements the

analyses undertaken earlier by sketching the whole structure that led to the choice of the I-maxim. The proposal put forward is that the children who did not use connectives at points of topic change in fact adopted a different second-order principle as their standpoint for resolving the conflicts between the opposing informational requirements of the I- and Q-maxim. I propose that in this case the second-order principle which controlled the selection of the I-maxim is the principle of Tellability, and that for a subset of 10 year-old children, Tellability is equivalent to non-repetitiveness. George (10- years old) put it clearly "what I look for when I write a text is not to say the same words over and over again such as "and then and then, and then".

Apart from differences due to home-socialization patterns, schooling processes also play a role in sharpening children's awareness of the features that give rise to a "good" text. Two years after the initial collection of the data, all the children, when asked to evaluate texts, consistently singled out two points: a) correct use of punctuation and b) repetitive use of the connective "and then" and stressed the need to substitute the monotonous reference to a single connective "meta" for a different one so that the story "sounds better". What are the factors that made children aware of the existence of Tellability requirements? In the course of the two years that intervened between the collection of their narrative texts and the collection of their comments, the children are seen to have acquired a specific schema with regard to what a "good" story looks like. As the children grow older, however, their schema of what constitutes Tellability is subject to further changes and schooling plays an important role in shaping children's expectations. For the time being, the characteristics isolated as constitutive of Tellability are two: non-repetitiveness (which leads to complete absence of event-linking forms) and correct use of punctuation.

Given this, we can sketch the decision-making processes that gave rise to this pattern of event connectivity as follows:

- (134) In a situation of choice between the I- and the Q-maxim, which one of the two maxims should I choose to implement so that I satisfy the injunctions of the Tellability principle? Or, to put it more simply, so that I tell a story which is non-repetitive?

If this hypothesis is correct, it is clear that for those children, the Principle of Tellability overrode the Principle of Communicative Efficiency leading to a specific way of indicating event connectivity (use of zero connectivity throughout the text).

Let us summarize: So far, I have been attempting to provide an account that would substantiate my claim that the choice of the I-maxim is instigated by



concerns for Tellability. It might be objected, however, that identifying the choice of the I-maxim with Tellability runs counter to the building of cohesion. One apparent implication is that the children, by attending to the Tellability principle, were not concerned to build a cohesive text, i.e. to signal topic changes and facilitate the smooth flow of information from topic to topic. But if this is so, such a claim is obviously not reconcilable with the readers' responses leading to the claim that 10 year-olds did indeed produce cohesive narrative texts. The question suggests a test for the issue of central concern in this chapter: the relation between these two second-order principles in Greek culture. For the moment, with the data available I can only note the finding according to which it is possible to satisfy requirements of text-building and tellability through the use of one and the same form: zero connectives in this case. The discussion, however, as evolved in this section makes clear that in Greek a specific relation must obtain between the principle of Tellability and that of Communicative Efficiency. There must be a common element to both, and the question that must be answered is: what is this element and in what way are the two principles related?

#### **6.4. Q- Maxim and Tellability**

In attempting to capture the relation between the principles of Tellability and Communicative Efficiency for Greek, two different patterns of event connectivity were examined: the use of "and"- "and then" versus the use of zero connectives. Despite their apparent differences, both groups of children, in essence, follow the same pattern of establishing event connectivity in their texts: both adhere to the consistent use of the same form (be it the connective "and then" or zero connectives) throughout their texts. As a result, such texts were regarded as less successful and interesting compared to the texts characterized by the use of variable connectives. Consequently, the issue raised refers to the nature of these terms: what elements make a text "successful" and how can we capture "interestingness", or Tellability, in our terminology?

Progress can be made toward giving an answer if tellability is seen as a set of requirements, restrictions and recommendations regarding the way in which language should be used at the text level in a particular culture. The aim of the present section is to identify which sets of restrictions constitute Tellability in Greek and which do not, by considering whether they include the requirement to build a cohesive text. The issue raised essentially refers to the possibility of establishing a relation of logical priority between the principles of Communicative Efficiency and Tellability.<sup>19</sup> The discussion tackles the issue of logical priority by concentrating on texts written by the 12 year-old children: the use of connectives gives us a clear grasp of the relation between the principles of Communicative Efficiency and that of Tellability.

Consider the following example.

- (135)
- a. **O** O Kwstakhs kai h Basw ekei pou paizane (D)  
den prosexan (D) kai erixan (e1) thn mpala ston  
pinaka pou zwgrafize h mama tous kai thn lerwsan  
(e2) me tis mpogies.
  - b. **Tote** h mhtera tous tous malwse (e3) kai auta  
arcisan (e4) na klaine.
  - c. H mhtera tous **meta** phge (e5) sthn toualeta kai  
arcise (e6) na kanei mpanio.
  - d. Ta paidia **tote** gia na mh stenocwrhsoun  
perissotero th mhtera tous arcisan (e7) na skoupizoun.  
O Kwstakhs ebale ton pinaka sth thesh tou (e7a) kai  
h Basw skoupise tis mpogies. (e7b)
  - e. **Meta** otan teleiwse (e8) h mhtera tous to mpanio  
o Kwstakhs thn carise (e9) mia anthodesmh me omorfa  
louloudia
  - f. kai **tote** h mama tou ton agkaliase (e10) kai ton  
filhse. (e11)
- 
- a. Kostakis and Vaso as they were playing (D) were not  
(D) careful enough and kicked (e1) the ball towards  
the easel where their mom was painting and their  
mother was covered in paints. (e2)
  - b. **As a result** their mother told them off (e3) and  
they burst into tears (started to cry) (e4).
  - c. **Then** their mother went to the bathroom (e5) and  
began to wash herself (e6).
  - d. **Then** to avoid annoying their mother further  
the children began (e7) to clean the place.  
Kostakis put the easel back in its place (e7a) and  
Vaso cleaned the paint (e7b).
  - e. **Then** when their mother finished her bath (e8)  
Kostakis offered (e9) her a bunch of lovely flowers
  - f. and **as a result** his mother gave him a hug (e10)  
and kissed (e11) him. (Ntina M., 12 years old)

The structure is as follows:

TOPIC 1

D  
D  
kai + e1  
kai + e2  
conn + e3  
kai + e4  
conn + e5  
kai + e6

**Conn + TOPIC 2**

e7  
e7a  
e7b

**Conn + TOPIC 3**  
(+ sub. cl.)

e8  
e9  
conn + e10  
kai + e11

This example will be discussed by posing a specific question: What is the role that connectives play within the text? The question may seem to be a rhetorical one since, as already showed (section 5.2.1.), connectives constitute surface realizations of the injunctions of the Q-maxim at points of topic change. As claimed, through the use of connectives, language producers impart information that signals the exact type of relations obtaining between utterances. This account, however, is not powerful enough. By attending to patterns of event connectivity in 12 year olds' texts and by taking into account readers' responses, the claim put forward here is that connectives by themselves:

- a) do not create cohesion and
- b) do not delimit the structure of the text

and, as such, their role should be located on a different level apart from that of establishing connectivity alone.

This view regarding the function of connectives rests on the fact that a text is not merely a series of utterances linked together, but a constellation of topics and sub-topics which enter into a variety of hierarchical relations. As already discussed (section 5.5.2), the structure of a text (that is, its structure of topics and subtopics) can be revealed by subtle means, mainly through the alternation between Definite NPs and zero anaphora, as in the following clear-cut example:

- (136) a. **H mhtera** ebale katharo forema  
b. kai **O** bghke exw sthn aulh na dei an ta paidia ta

katharisan.

- c. **Ta paidia** eican teleiwsei kiolas.
- d. **Ta paidia** thn zhthsan sugnwmh
- e. kai **O** gia na thn ikanopoihsoun thn edwsan ena wraio mpouketo.
- f. **H mhtera** camogelase.
- g. **O** Tous sugcwrhse
- h. kai **O** tous edwse ena filaki.

- a. **Their mother** put on a clean dress
- b. and **O** went out to the garden to check if the children (had) tidied things up.
- c. **The children** had already finished.
- d. **the children** apologized
- e. and **O** in order to please her (they) gave her a beautiful bunch of flowers.
- f. **Mother** smiled.
- g. **(She)** forgave them
- h. and **O** gave them a kiss. (Anna K., 12 years old)

The alternation between Definite Noun phrases and zero anaphora delimits the hierarchical structure of the text by showing the points where topic changes occur. Consider, for instance, (c.) and (d.). Despite the fact that the same character is mentioned in both, the narrator uses a definite noun phrase ("ta paidia": the children) and not zero anaphora as it would be expected since the two utterances refer to two different activities of the children. Specifically, (c.) refers to the result of an action which is situated out of the narrative event line (notice the use of the past perfect tense) whereas (d.) refers to an action that advances the forward movement of the narrative event line. Even if connectives were used, they would not in themselves perform the function of delimiting the two topics; they would mark it more heavily rather than actually creating it. If, on the other hand, at points of topic change Definite Noun Phrases were not used, this would have led to an unintelligible text. So, the use of connectives as such is not necessary for delimiting the topic structure. Consider the following two texts, relying on absence versus use of connectives, respectively:

- (137) a. **O** eide th marmelada cumenh sto patwma kai

katalabe amesws oti to ekanan ta paidia.

- b. **0** Phgenei sto kathhstiko kai ta brhskei anemela na paizoune. Ta fwnazei kai ta leei na pane na ta mazepsoune amesws.
- c. **0** Ta paidia trexane amesws na ta mazepsoune.....
- a. **0** (she) saw the jar spilt on the floor and immediately understood that her children had done it.
- b. **0** (she) Goes to the living-room and finds them playing carelessly. (She) tells them off and asks them to go and clear evrything up.
- b. **0** The children rushed to clear everything up... (Ioanna Tz., 12 years old)

- (138)
- a. ....katalabe oti to espasan ta paidia ths.
  - b. **Tote** phge mesa sto dwmatio tous kai tous malwse. Prwta tous eipe na mazepsoune ta paicnidia **kai meta** na pane na skoupisoune thn kouzina.
  - c. Etsi kai egine. O Basilhs kai h Katerina afou mazepsan ta paicnidia **meta** phgane sthn kouzina kai arcisane na mazeuoune to gluko.
  - a. ....(she) understood that her children (had) broken it.
  - b. **So** (she) went to their room and told them off. (She) **first** asked them to pick up their toys **and then** to go and clean up the kitchen.
  - c. And so it happened. Basilis and Katerina after they picked up their toys **then** (they) went to the kitchen and started cleaning up. (Ntina M., 12 years old)

An alternative hypothesis could be that connectives are used by the narrator so that the addressee deciphers the type of relation obtaining between locally-linked events (events within topics). This is not borne out by the empirical facts either. Apart from linguistic information, there are additional factors which play an important role in helping the addressee decipher the exact type of relation between events, such as world knowledge and the previous text. Both factors crucially limit the type of relations to be inferred and, as such, the absence of connectives resulting from the application of the I-maxim does not render a text unintelligible.

The teachers' comments, moreover, seem to point to a contradiction: some of the texts containing connectives were regarded as tellable while others were not. Consider the following text-excerpt:

- (139)
- a. To bazo epese kai o dustucismenos Giwrgos arcise na klaiei. H Basw tou eipe na mhn klaiei, giati den tha tous malwne h mhtera tous.
  - b. **Meta** ta duo paidia phgan na paixoun sto dwmatio tous. Ta paidia epaizan kai diabazan polles wres cwris na malwnoun.
  - c. **Se ligo** eftase kai h mhtera tw n duo paidiwn. Prwta- prwta h mhtera apo ta paidia phge sthn kouzina.
- 
- a. The jar toppled over and poor George burst into tears. Baso told him not to cry, because their mother would not scold them.
  - b. **Then** the two children went to play in their room. The children were playing and reading for hours without arguing.
  - c. **In a little while** the children's mother came back. First mother went to the kitchen. (Froso Tz., 12 years old)

The teachers all agree on the value of the text as a coherent piece of work. The shifts in the activities of the characters are clearly illustrated and linked so that there is smooth transition from topic to topic. Nonetheless, readers' comments do not give us any indication that the text is regarded as tellable. Of importance is the following comment:

- Faithful description but uninteresting (Achilleas D., primary school teacher).

As a first step to understanding this paradox, let us try to lay down conditions that would have to be satisfied for tellability to come about. In this connection, it is interesting to note the conclusion of other researchers into the role of cohesion and coherence for text quality. Witte and Faigley (1983) were mainly concerned with writing composition of students of higher education and for their quantitative measurements they employed Halliday and Hasan's coding scheme. Despite the difference in coding procedures, the conclusion they reach gives support to the proposal made here. What they claim is this:

Our analysis of cohesion suggests that cohesion is an important property of writing quality. To some extent the types and frequencies of cohesive ties seem to reflect the invention skills of student writers and to influence the stylistic and organizational properties of the texts they write. However, our analysis also



suggests that while cohesive relations may ultimately affect writing quality in some ways, there is no evidence to suggest that a large (or a small number) of cohesive ties of a particular type will positively affect writing quality.... Consequently, coherence conditions - conditions governed by the writer's purpose, the audience's knowledge and expectations and the information to be conveyed- militate against prescriptive approaches to the teaching of writing. (1983, p.202)

Although the way in which Witte and Faigley formulate their discussion in different methodological terms, there is one point of immediate interest that attests cross-cultural agreement: the presence of cohesive devices does not guarantee text quality. What then do these results indicate? Before proceeding any further, let us reflect on the conclusions reached so far.

To summarize: By attending to different texts that reflected variable ways of presenting information and by examining the comments that were made in relation to each of them, it was found that texts which are not cohesive (i.e. as signalling relations between events) were not characterized as tellable. Cohesion, then, was found to be a necessary feature of tellability. On the other hand, it has been demonstrated that texts that are indeed cohesive (that is, texts which contain explicit indicators of sequential relations) were not characterized as tellable. We arrive, thus, at a different conclusion: that cohesion is not a sufficient feature of tellability. These two findings when combined can be more simply put as this: it is necessary for a text to be cohesive in order to be tellable but this is not enough. Although cohesion is a necessary feature, it is not sufficient. Given this, then the two principles postulated, that is Tellability and Communicative Efficiency, do not in fact interact at all but relate to each other through inclusion. The latter, Communicative Efficiency, is, in essence, a subpart of the principle of Tellability, as follows:

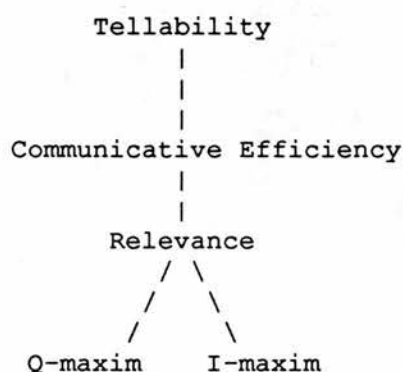


Figure 8: The Principle of Tellability

Readers' responses, however, made it clear that there is a residual part of Tellability which is not covered by Communicative Efficiency. In what follows, I undertake this issue with the aim to sketch the full system that gives rise to Tellability.

### **6.5. Adverbial Clauses and Participles versus Connectives: Literary Strategies for Satisfying Tellability**

Quantitative analyses of the collected texts demonstrate that in their first attempts to satisfy cohesion children preferred connectives and zero forms, whereas adults relied on the use of participles and adverbial clauses as text building devices. Moreover, readers' comments converged on the proposal that subordinate clauses and participles are preferable as giving the text a complex character. Apparently, there must be some factors at work that make certain forms more difficult to use than others.

At a first level, we may say that a form A is more complex than form B, if A contains more morphemes than B, while they both express the same meaning as belonging to the same semantic field. Although adverbial clauses are more complex constructions for rendering information than main clauses linked with connectives, there is evidence that children at 5 do indeed use subordinate clauses in spoken narrative discourse (see, Silva (1983), for English and Baslis (1888) for Greek). What then are the reasons for the difference in the use of temporal adverbial clauses and participles according to age and contextual type (type of picture)?

A number of proposals may be put forward regarding the best way of conceptualizing the contribution of temporal adverbial clauses and participles to text quality. It might be argued that subordinate clauses and participles do not contain references to sequential information and are used to express background information. This type of argument, familiar in the linguistic literature (Givón, (1983))<sup>26</sup>, that correlates background as non-sequential material with specific linguistic features is seriously flawed (for discussion on this topic, see Fleischman (1985) and Reinhart (1984)). Foreground and background as a discrete, binary concept rendering sequentiality and non-sequentiality respectively was quite useful at an initial stage of text analyses in that it provided researchers with an easily-applied codification of information within texts. Quite soon, this discreteness proved dangerous in that it inhibited fine-grained analyses of information; the a-priori equation of certain syntactic constructions with discourse-level characteristics was found by subsequent studies to be mistaken. Thompson (1987), among others, demonstrated through empirical analyses of narrative texts in American English that such a correlation does not accord with the facts, as narrators may well choose to render sequential material through the use of

subordinate clauses. In the texts collected and in order to capture what constitutes sequential and non-sequential material, non-linguistic criteria were used. World-knowledge indicated which events should be located on the event line and which ones are out of sequence. The results, documented in detail in Chapter 2, made clear that subjects, that is, both adults and children, chose adverbial clauses and participles to indicate events that move the main narrative time forward (see (21) in chapter 2).

Alternatively, it might be argued that temporal adverbial clauses and participles are associated with information of low importance, i.e. material which is not essential to plot development, whereas main clauses contain important material (see Fox (1983) for a similar point with regard to the textual role of participles in Ancient Greek). This proposal is adopted here but with qualifications. The main difficulty with this proposal lies in the meaning assigned to the terms "important" and "non-important" information, both of which indicate relative concepts. To judge something as important, one needs a number of well-defined rules and goals. Something is important not in its own right but only in relation to something else which is subsequently regarded as material of low importance. Narrative is connected with bringing about a certain effect on the addressee (aesthetic pleasure from reading a good story). Individual utterances can not by themselves constitute a narrative, but create a narrative only jointly at the text level. If so, then there can not be unimportant information as such since all information works cumulatively towards bringing about the pre-specified end-state. Diversions, details etc. may on a superficial level not indicate sequential events (which form the core of a narrative), while being at the same time not only admissible but indeed necessary for a narrative to become an interesting story.

It is evident that none of the above binary conceptions can capture the role of linguistic forms within texts. If subordinate clauses are used by the narrator for the purpose of illustrating background or relatively unimportant information and if background and/or unimportant material is signalled by subordinate clauses, then it is evident that we have entered a vicious circle which identifies forms with specific functions without attending to narrators' use of the forms in question. To break the circle, I would prefer to replace the binary foreground-background distinction with a conception that various types of information exist within a text (sequentially-ordered events, events out of sequence, descriptions, details etc.) each of which is rendered with a specific constellation of linguistic features while all are intertwined to give rise to a cohesive and tellable story and argue that it is the narrator him/herself who judges what constitutes important and less-than-important information.

But, the question remains: why is this differentiation of information necessary?

The proposal put forward is that both adverbial clauses and participles are used by the narrator to differentiate information for the purpose of building a tellable story. That is, adverbial temporal clauses and participles are the surface realizations of the principle of Tellability.

The formulation of this proposal suggests that a direct relation exists between the choice of specific forms and Tellability, in the sense that the choice of subordinate clauses or participles is the result of people's judgement of the way in which this form satisfies Tellability. This line of reasoning is too vague to be appealing. Tellability, as a second-order principle, is of a quite general nature. We cannot work directly with such an overarching second-order principle. We are entering here a familiar problem already solved with regard to the principle of Communicative Efficiency.

The proposal must be modified in a way that parallels the modifications suggested earlier regarding the constituent principles of Communicative Efficiency. For reasons of theory-consistency, the same solution is adopted: an intermediate-level principle is postulated which specifies the constitutive features of Tellability, and in this connection we must take up an earlier claim. In section 6.4., I proposed the beginnings of the hypothesis about the need to postulate a relation of priority between the Principles of Tellability and Communicative Efficiency. Intuitively this sounds true: a text which is tellable is necessarily cohesive. But this proposal was found to be limited in insight. Cohesion, although a necessary feature, is not a sufficient property of Tellability. To this end, another principle is proposed, which can account nicely for the remaining cases, and which in fact turns out to play the most important role in terms of style. I call this principle "the Principle of Foregrounding"<sup>21</sup> and formulate its content as follows:

(140)            **Principle of Foregrounding**

differentiate information within the text<sup>22</sup>

In the light of this proposal, let us now take up the central question raised in this section: given that people have a number of choices available, what factors lead to the choice of subordinate clauses? How is differentiation achieved through adverbial clauses and/or participles and not through connectives?

### **6.5.1. Rendering Information: The Role of the Maxim of Manner**

Integrating the results reported so far, this section brings out issues related to style and documents the way in which stylistic differences arise. The discussion centers on the following differences:

- (141) H zwgrafos meta to mpanio ebale ena katharo forema  
kai bghke exw.

The painter **after the bath** put on a new dress  
and went out (Katerina Ts., 12 years old).

- (142) **Molis ekane to mpanio ths** forese ena allo forema.

**When she finished her bath**, (she) put on a new  
dress. (Athanasios R., 12 years old)

- (143) **Teleiwnontas h Giolanta to mpanio ths** bgainei  
pali gia na taktopoihsei ta pragmata ths.

**Finishing her bath** Giolanta goes out  
again to tidy up her things. (Achilleas K., adult)

The piece of information is the same; in all cases (use of temporal phrase, use of preposed adverbial clause and participle), the narrator explicitly mentions the termination of an activity. But, why did some of the narrators use a temporal phrase (141) whereas others relied on the use of temporal adverbial clauses (142) and/or participles (143) to express the same piece of information? Does the difference matter?

The argument put forward is this: The choice between the forms under examination has nothing to do with quantity of information: the forms differ not in terms of information but in terms of brevity versus prolixity and, as such, the difference between them is properly to be accounted for not through the Q- and I-maxim but through the maxim of Manner (link this to the discussion of example (50)). To this end, in this section, I investigate the injunctions of the maxim of Manner and examine the interaction obtaining between it and the other maxims with the aim of sketching the way in which the apparatus of maxims influences the structuring of texts.

Grice formulated the maxim of Manner as follows:



## **Maxim of Manner**

Be perspicuous, and specifically:

avoid obscurity

avoid ambiguity

be brief

be orderly

In section 5.3., it was mentioned in passing that the maxim of Manner relates to issues of information presentation and, as such, it necessarily belongs to the means a language producer would use in transmitting information. The maxim of Manner shares with the I- and Q- maxims a common denominator: all are means for a language producer to use rather than goals to achieve; the operation of the maxim of Manner, however, is limited in the sense that the maxim of Manner can come into effect only when the narrator has decided to give the reader information. I hasten to admit that this claim depicts text production in an overly simplified way. There are indeed cases in which language producers may choose whether to give information or not (whether to use the I- or the Q-maxim) by comparing directly specific linguistic forms. Due to the automaticity of the task and given the predominantly oral character of the narrative genre (narrative, and not expository text, is the first genre-type learnt by children (Polanyi and Wolf (1990), and used by all adults, literate or illiterate (Bauman (1986)), processes of information selection and choice of linguistic forms are closely intertwined and difficult to disentangle. My attempt here is to tease them apart, an endeavour that would necessarily involve simplification.

To explain this claim, however, I wish to draw on current work on syntactic change. On the basis of it, it is proposed that the initiation of the process of using complex structure comes out of concerns for organizing information within a connected text. Adverbial clauses and participles are indeed complex forms but their complexity is better seen in discourse-level terms. In what follows, I advance this point by proposing that temporal adverbial clauses and participles are marked forms at the textual level and their use comes out of narrators' need to build a complex text structure with the ultimate aim of telling a tellable story.

### **6.5.2. Markedness and its Role to Text Coherence and Text Quality**

With regard to the issue at hand, i.e. the factors conditioning the use of connectives versus subordinate clauses and participles, it is proposed that the choice between these forms is the result of the violation of the Manner sub-maxim "be brief"/ "prefer the unmarked form" in favour of its opposite "be prolix"/ "prefer



the marked form" (for a discussion on markedness from different perspectives, see also Eckman, Moravcsik and Wirth (1986)). To characterize forms according to markedness, I build on a structure deriving from Traugott's (1975), (1988), (1989)) work on historical linguistics. According to Traugott (1989), the process of semantic change is the result of a shift occurring within and across components, illustrated as

propositional > textual > expressive

As we move to the right, forms become increasingly more marked.<sup>23</sup> The situation depicted in the form of tendencies has as follows:

#### *Semantic-Pragmatic Tendency I*

Meanings situated in the external described situation > meanings situated in the internal (evaluative/perceptual/cognitive) situation

#### *Semantic-Pragmatic Tendency II*

Meanings situated in the described external or internal situation > meanings situated in the textual/metalinguistic situation.

#### *Semantic-Pragmatic Tendency III*

Meanings tend to become increasingly situated in the speaker's belief state/attitude toward the situation. (after Traugott 1989, pp.34-5).

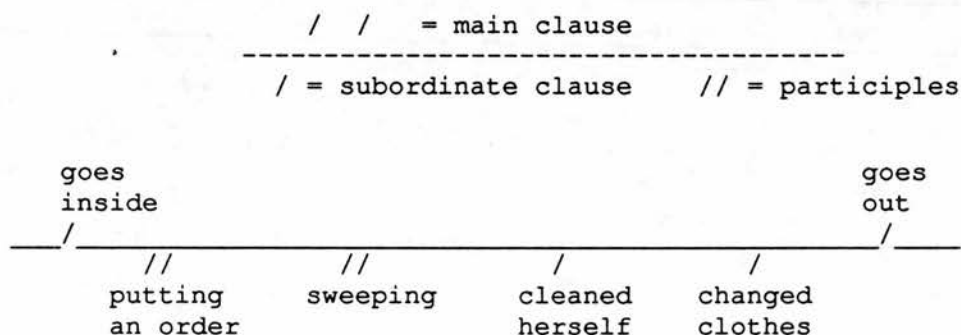
On the basis of this work I claim that subordinate clauses and participles are at the textual level more marked forms than connectives. The textual effects brought about by the choice of the marked versus the unmarked option can be made clear if we invoke the notion of the "textual norm" in relation to which the characterizations of forms as "marked" and "unmarked" acquire meaning. A norm is a kind of pattern that gets established within a text and is built up as the result of coordinated choices made on a variety of different levels. On the semantic level, for example, recurrent use of words from the same register has the effect of creating a semantic textual norm so that any deviations from the established pattern may acquire a different and possibly surprising value. By using a slang word in a formal text, or by using formality in a family letter (Tannen (1986b)) for instance, a narrator can create surprise. In the case at hand, successive use of main clauses creates a textual pattern which is disrupted by the interspersed use of subordinate clauses and/or participles. Thus, once a textual regularity (in the way of utterance-type) has been developed, any change of this pattern stands out and, as such, it acquires significance. The proposal made is that this divergence

from the textual norm is motivated from concerns to satisfy the principle of Foregrounding. Preposed temporal clauses and participles are surface realizations of the principle of Foregrounding; they are devices used by the narrator to build a tellable story by differentiating types of information (important versus less-important) and thus creating variability as the result of differentiating the grammatical coding of the narrative event-line. Given the injunctions of the Principle of Foregrounding, narrators have to search for the means to achieve this aim; since they work with language, the most obvious means for bringing about this effect is the manipulation of the text itself. Temporal adverbial clauses and participles are among the means a narrator can use.

The effect of subordinate clauses and participles on the structure of the event line can be shown diagrammatically as follows:

- (144) Aganakthsmenh h Christina phgainei sto spiti na pluthei kai na allaxei rouca. En tw metaxu ta duo paidia stenocwrhmena ap thn aprosexia tous prospathoun na epanorthosoun tactopoiwntas ta pragmata ths Christinas kai skoupizontas tis mpogies pou epesan katw. H Christina afou pluthhke kai allaxe bgainei exw...

Very upset Christina goes inside the house to clean herself and change clothes. Meanwhile the two children sorry for their carelessness try to make up by putting an order to Christina's things and cleaning the paint spilt on the floor. Christina after she cleaned herself and changed clothes goes out... (Paraskevi S., adult)



But how can we account for the fact that their use is limited to the children? What is it that makes the use of subordinate clauses and participles so difficult? The use of both forms necessitates a high degree of metalinguistic competence on the part of the narrator. Language producers have in essence to manipulate the text itself as a space in order to single out certain elements within it as more or less

important and this is a new task for the children. Children seem to come to grips with cohesion first (that is, isolating blocks of information from each other) rather than with foregrounding.

In the light of these comments, consider the following text:

- (145) O Giwrgakhs anoixe to ntoulapi kai sthn prospatheia tou na parei kati gia na faei ton epese to bazo me to gluko sto patwma. **Meta** ta duo paidia phgan sto dwmatio tous gia na paixoun ma ta paicnidia tous. Ta paicnidia tous htan panw sthn poluthrona. Ta paidia afou ta katebasan apo thn poluthrona arcisan na paizoun sa na mh sunebaine tipota. **Alla ekei pou epalzan** anoixe h porta apo thn kouzina kai fanhke h mhtera tous. **Otan mphke mesa sthn kouzina** eide to bazo me to gluko katw. **Tote** katalabe oti th zhmia auth thn ekane o Giwrgakhs me thn Maria. **Gi auto** phge sto dwmatio apo ta paidia...

Little George opened the cupboard and in his attempt to get something to eat the jar with the sweet slips out of his hands on the floor. **Then** the two children went to their room to play with their toys. Their toys were on the armchair. The children **after** (they) put them down began to play as if nothing had happened. But **as they were playing** the kitchen door opened and their mother appeared. **When (she) entered the kitchen** she saw the pot with the sweet on the floor. **Then** (she) understood that little George and Maria had done it. **So** she went to the children's room.  
(Amalia F., 12 years old)

The comments read as follows:

- Right connection between utterances but there is not use of adjectives (Chrisanthi, secondary school teacher)
- The composition is fair with nothing special to it (Maria K., social worker)

What more is needed, apart from subordinate clauses, to make a text "special"? This is the issue to be discussed shortly. Before that some theoretical issues need to be resolved.

## 6.6. Reflecting on the System: Issues of Theory Building

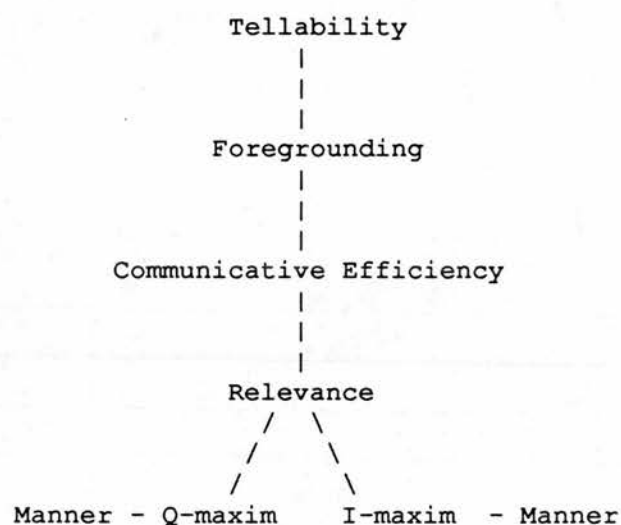
The account offered so far by not describing the processes leading to the violation of the Manner injunction "be brief", suffers from the defect of limited explanatory power. Why is it, for instance, that the injunction "be brief" was not followed at specific points? Has it be outweighed by the opposite injunction "be prolix" and, if so, what is the role of the system of higher principles in this process? It is clear that the presence of the presumptive Manner-related framework of injunctions does not settle practical problems in text production automatically.

A possible proposal would be that the injunction "be brief" has been cancelled. Such a claim would involve us in problems regarding the coherence of the theory developed here; it is, therefore, necessary that a distinction be drawn between the notion of one maxim *overriding* another and that of a maxim being *cancelled*. I take it that a maxim can be overridden only by another maxim which is itself a reason for a different action. Cancellation, however, does not involve a conflict of injunctions; it deals with one maxim only, and, as such, it does not reflect on the need to balance two contradictory maxims.

The account building on cancellation seems plausible enough since the Manner framework, although containing the injunction "be brief", does not contain the opposite one "be prolix, i.e. use the marked form". On a first level, cancellation can be indeed effective since the cancellation of one injunction would automatically bring into effect the opposite one. This account, however, gives rise to an apparent inconsistency in the way in which conflicts between maxims are handled in the system of narrative textual logic developed in this thesis. To explain why this is so, we need to remind ourselves of the way in which conflicts between informational requirements were resolved. Recall that in order to account for issues of informativeness, two different maxims, the I- and Q-maxim, were postulated: although we could have explained issues of informativeness by invoking the notion of one maxim, the Q-maxim, being applied at some points and cancelled at others, the separate existence of two maxims was thought necessary because each one is linked with different reasoning. In cases of decision-making, we rarely consider the merits of adhering to a single injunction only; there is an implicit balance between a certain injunction and its counterpart. There are always two maxims (p and -p) (see (54)) involved whose separate existence is necessary to be postulated because each one is linked with different reasoning.

Given this, I am rather unwilling to invoke cancellation in accounting for the resolution of conflicts related to issues of manner and the presentation of information. So, in the case at hand regarding the way in which information is to be linguistically rendered, the language producer is presented with two different injunctions: "use the marked form" - "use the unmarked form". To the extent to

which injunctions may conflict with one another, decision-makers must find some method of weighing the value of different principles. The account sketched so far (chapter 4) does offer a decision-procedure for solving conflicts between maxims. As proposed, decisions are taken against second-order principles: conflicting injunctions are reconciled by a higher level principle. A solution thus would be to invoke a kind of second-order principles which, like the second-order principles presented so far, would weigh the two Manner injunctions against each other. This proposal would necessarily involve us in sketching the relation of these second-order principles to the ones already postulated (Relevance, Communicative Efficiency, Foregrounding). The empirical results, however, simplify the problem. According to empirical findings, language producers use the marked form at points of topic change. The Relevance principle thus creeps in affecting processes of information presentation. In fact, postulating that the same second-order principle is used for the choice of a manner sub-maxim gives coherence to the process of text production. In this way, the Relevance principle functions as the standpoint for choosing directly both between information and ways of information presentation. One may decide whether to use information (Q) or not by comparing directly specific linguistic forms rather than conceptual material. So, the structure is this:



*Figure 9:* The maxim of Manner and its position within the system of maxims



## 6.7. Iconicity and Tellability: The Case of Tense Alternation

Much of the discussion so far has concentrated on illustrating the way in which the Maxim of Manner works to give rise to specific stylistic differences in presenting information. The main claim made was that the "literate" strategies adopted by adults in order to establish event connectivity are the result of the application and flouting of the Manner sub-maxim "be brief". In discourse-level terms, subordinate clauses and participles are complex textual strategies adopted by adults in order to build their texts so that they satisfy Tellability. Children, on the other hand, were presented as only gradually becoming sensitive to the principle of Tellability. The quantitative measurements of the limited use of subordinate clauses and participles may support two different conclusions: Either the children have not yet acquired the necessary knowledge about what goals to pursue when they construct a text (that is, the limited amount of information they possess regarding text processes affected the number of pragmatic principles they considered for their choice of forms) or they do have this knowledge, but satisfy Tellability concerns with strategies different from the ones adopted by adults. I am more in line with the second proposal. To illustrate its validity, in this section, I concentrate on patterns of event reference that lend support to the claim that children indeed show concern for tellability. It is only the way in which such concerns are expressed at the surface level of their texts that differs systematically across age-groups. This issue is addressed by examining the case of tense alternation in the collected texts, as in the following examples:

- (146) to paidi pou htan megalutero phge na parei thn  
merenta kai **glustra**el kai **pefte**l sta plakakia  
kai **gineta**l mikra mikroutsika kommatakia.

The eldest boy tried to reach the chocolate-spread  
and it **slips** out of his hands and **falls** down  
and **breaks into pieces**. (Dimitris A., 8  
years old)

- (147) To agoraki pou to elegan Stauro **petae**l mia dunath  
mpalia kai h Anna etsi elegan to koritsi den thn  
piane. Kai **phgain**el kateutheian sthn wraia  
zwgrafia tou koritsiou.

The little boy whose name was Stauros **kicks** the  
ball too high up and Anna that was the name of the  
girl did not catch it. And **goes** right up onto the  
girl's beautiful painting. (George K., 10 years old)

The norm through which events are normally recounted in a narrative in Greek is Past Tense (see also Tannen (1980)). Why is it then that some of the subjects,



both children and adults, used present tense? Is this choice a stylistic strategy and, if so, how can we account for it?

A source from which we might gain insight and a possible answer to these questions lies in the comments made by children and readers on the quality of these texts.

- At the beginning he does not use a correct tense. Instead of "it fell down" he has "it falls down" (Charilaos K., 12 years old)
- The child who wrote the text does not use the verbs in the correct tenses (Basilis M., 12 years old).
- The description is simple, but good. The text lacks adjectives. He should have used the same tense in all verbs (Stelios T., primary school teacher)
- Tedious text with the continuous change in the types of verbs (Maria K., 24, social worker)

The main point to which all these comments center is that tense alternation within a narrative is a mistake that children should learn to avoid. The influence of schooling processes on language use is particularly evident in the texts produced by the 12 year-old children, as shown in the following table:

| Mean Percentage of Present Tense by Age-Group: Both Pictures |           |           |
|--------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|-----------|
| Age-Group                                                    | picture A | picture B |
| 8 year-olds                                                  | 3.76      | 3.88      |
| 10 year-olds                                                 | 6.52      | 3.71      |
| 12 year-olds                                                 | 1.57      | 2.73      |
| Adults                                                       | 1.37      | 11.02     |
| Table 9: Mean Percentage of Present Tense by Age-Group       |           |           |

The difference is significant only for groups 3 and 4 ( $z = -3.4637$ ,  $p = 0.0005$ ). The results for the other groups are nonsignificant and have as follows: group 1-2 ( $z = -0.1918$ ,  $p = 0.8479$ ), groups 1-3 ( $z = -0.6488$ ,  $p = 0.5165$ ), 1-4 ( $z = -2.5769$ ,  $p = 0.100$ ), 2-3 ( $z = -0.6916$ ,  $p = 0.4892$ ) and 2-4 ( $z = -2.5633$ ,  $p = 0.104$ ).

On the basis of this evidence, I argue that the present-past tense alternation does not constitute a mistake- on the contrary; it indicates a specific strategy of an

oral nature through which children attempt to come to grips with text structuring and with satisfying tellability concerns.

In order to understand the reasons behind the choice of present tense, I explore one kind of functional explanation put across with regard to the nature of various linguistic forms: that linguistic forms are frequently the way they are because, like diagrams, they resemble the conceptual structures they convey. Given this claim, my discussion builds on the proposal that tense alternation is a strategy of an oral character that people adopt in order to satisfy the requirements of Tellability and especially those of the Principle of Foregrounding. I propose that the interspersion of present forms within a sequence of past tense forms illustrates iconically those events that the narrators judged to be more important. In this respect, tense alternation is very similar to intonation, which, as Bolinger (1985) argues, has an iconic character. "...When we come to elements in an utterance that interest and excite us, we mark the spot with a rise in pitch -the more interesting and exciting they are, the greater the rise" (p.110). Given a sequence of events depicting actions, it is only certain events that upset the course of the action bringing into effect what story-grammarians call "the complicating action" (see also Longacre (1985)). It is to such events that the use of present tense corresponds.

This claim is supported by quantitative analyses of the texts. Table 10 shows the correlation of present tense forms with the picture frames.

| Picture | Picture Frames |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|---------|----------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|         | 1              | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| A       | 0              | 9 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 2 | 4 | 0 | 0 |
| B       | 4              | 7 | 6 | 5 | 5 | 8 | 9 | 5 | 6 |

Table 10: Number of Present Tense Forms according to Picture-Frame.

The following examples make clear the way in which texts were constructed:

- (148) O Kwstas hthele na ftasei ena kouti xafnika **peftel**  
to kouti.

Kostas wanted to reach a can suddenly the can  
**topples over**. (George N., 10 years old).

- (149) O Nikos cwris na thelei **ricnel** thn mpala ston  
pinaka ths Eirhnhs. Tote **peftel** katw o pinakas..

Nikos accidentally **throws** the ball toward Irene's easel. As a result, the easel **is knocked over**.. (Thanassis P., 12 years old)

- (150) Ekei pou epaizan boleu tous **feugel** h mpala kai **pacl** apanw sta crwmata kai ta crwmata thnacthkan kai epaisan apanw sth zwgrafo.

As they were playing volleyball the ball **goes away** and **hits** the paint-pots and the pots toppled over and covered the painter.  
(Agamemnwn Mp., 12 years old)

Tense alternation thus is not a mistake.<sup>24</sup> Previous research on children's narratives, however, cf. Shatz (1984) regarded it as mistake. There are two possible reasons. The first one refers to their methodological stand. As made clear in this thesis, there are a number of phenomena that we can not properly account for and whose function we cannot understand unless we adopt a discourse-level perspective. (The fact that other researchers have not adopted fundamental premises of DA seriously limits the explanatory power of their work) A different danger comes from factors relevant to age or status of the participants themselves. Age, social class etc. work as ready-made labels preempting value-laden statements. Analysts should be aware of how much they rely on the individual utterances themselves and how much on the role of the person that uttered them. To illustrate my point, I briefly discuss a characteristic example from the work conducted by Labov and Fanshel (1977) who analysed the exchanges of a doctor and his patient, a girl named Ronda who suffered from anorexia. In this patient-doctor framework, Labov and Fanshel showed that once a participant has been characterized as "patient", much of his/her utterances (hesitations for example) will be interpreted in consonance with this negative label, whereas if the same one were uttered by the doctor, one would tend to give it a different interpretation. Similarly, in studies which attempt to capture the linguistic abilities of language-learning subjects, much interpretation arises from the a-priori characterization of them as "language- learners", that is, as people who are in the process of learning and thus not fully able to exploit the possibilities inherent in the linguistic system. (see Godfrey (1986) for such an erroneous interpretation of tense alternation with regard to second-language learners, which is also pointed out by Wolfson (1982)).

## 6.8. Differentiating Voices: The Role of Discourse Bracketing Devices

Narrators may differentiate information in their story on the basis of yet another constellation of features.

In this section a specific pattern of event connectivity found mainly in the adults' texts is isolated and its significance to information differentiation processes will be indicated. I call this pattern of forms "Discourse Bracketing Devices" (DBDs), and discuss its importance for indicating cohesive relations between the various topics within a text. DBDs are surface-level correlates of narrator's intention to articulate a clear, coherent and expressive text through differentiating levels of information.

DBDs is used as a cover term to encompass a number of different constructions. Three main patterns occurred in the adults' texts:

1) *Def.NPs + <adj/pst partic. + clause/NP/PrPh> + verb*

- (151) Ta duo paidia **stenocwrhmena apo thn aprosexia tous**  
prospathoun na epanorthwsoun...

The children **sorry for their carelessness** try to  
make up.... (Paraskevi S., adult)

### 2) Adjectives

- (152) Otan h Fwteinh teleiwse to mpanio forese ena katharo  
forema kai **arketa hremh kai calarwmenh** phge na  
sunanthsei tous filous ths.

When Fotini finished her bath (she) put on a clean  
dress and **less upset and more relaxed** (she) went  
again to meet her friends. (Basiliki M., adult).

- (153) Ta duo paidia kathontai katw to ena dipla sto allo  
**fanera stenocwrhmena** ...

The two children sit down one next to the other  
**obviously distressed**... (Christina M., adult)

### 3) Adverbs

- (154) Omws **xafnika** h mpala epese ston pinaka..

But **suddenly** the ball knocked the easel...  
(Amalia F., 12 years old)

3) Whole utterances that contain negatives or comments on the events.

- (155) Ta paidia teleiwsan th douleia kai aisthanthhkan  
caroumena me to kalo telos ths zhmiias tous.  
**Twra poios na xerei ti na skeftontai. Isws kamia  
nea fasaria. arage tha einai panta toso tuceroi;**

The children finished their job and felt very happy  
with the good ending of the incident. **Now who  
knows what they are thinking. Probably a new  
mischief. But are they are going to be so lucky  
again?** (Dimitris K., adult)

From a functional point of view, what we have in DBDs are two situations expressed in a complex way. One, belonging to the "narrative mode", consists of a certain event situated on the narrative event line. The other, belonging to the "evaluative mode", consists of forms that refer back and forth and evaluate aspects of the narrative mode.

There are various ways to implement this strategy when organizing information in a text. One can rely on knowledge of the world, shared knowledge or information that can be inferred either from previous discourse or from relevant schemata. The information that the DBDs present can be easily inferred by the reader so it need not be encoded explicitly, and this indeed was what happened in the children's own texts. The narrator may also explicitly code this type of information through grammar. DBDs are syntacticizations of inferential information. They are the result of discourse-level processes related to narrators' need for differentiating and integrating different levels of information within a text.

The differences between groups in the use of discourse bracketing devices have as follows: Picture A: There is no statistically significant difference between groups 1 and 2 for picture A and picture B respectively ( $z = -0.0152$ ,  $p = 0.5384$ ,  $z = -3.6374$ ,  $p = 0.0003$ , 1 and 3 ( $z = -0.9405$ ,  $p = 0.3469$ ),  $z = -1.1720$ ,  $p = 0.2412$ ) 2 and 3 ( $z = -1.9015$ ,  $p = 0.0572$ )  $z = -1.4545$ ,  $p = 0.1458$ , The difference between groups 1, 2 and 3 when compared to group 4 are significant: For each picture respectively, the results are: 1 and 4 ( $z = -4.3103$ ,  $p = 0.0000$ ,  $z = -4.4422$ ,  $z = 0.0000$ ), 2 and 4 ( $z = -5.3526$ ,  $p = 0.0000$ ,  $z = -1.1700$ ,  $p = 0.2420$ ) 3 and 4 ( $z = -4.8712$ ,  $p = 0.0000$ ,  $z = 2.3343$ ,  $p = 0.0196$ )

Consider (151), the first and most frequently-encountered case of referring back and evaluating information.

The DBDs in this pattern can be decomposed into two parts, one which contains an adjective or a past participle denoting a state (sorry) and a second containing a prepositional phrase (for their carelessness) or, in other cases, a noun and/or a clause (they had done). Both of these two constituents, while related, play a different role within the text, functioning as cataphoric and anaphoric text pointers respectively.

The role of the first part is closely related to that played by the second part, which has a presuppositional character; the prepositional phrase "for their carelessness" presupposes the prior occurrence of a specific event, the content of which cannot be known unless one has access to information mentioned earlier in the text. In this way, this phrase by pointing backwards functions as an anaphoric device signalling the existence of an event elsewhere in the previous linguistic text. The deciphering of the information pointed at, however, is the result of the pragmatic interpretation of the information mentioned in the previous text. The second part of the DBD plays a vague anaphoric role in the sense that it does not point to or reiterate specific information in the way we saw that adverbial temporal clauses, for instance, do. Preposed temporal clauses act as explicit markers of textual deixis by establishing linkage between specific pieces of information spread over different topics. Consider the contrast between preposed temporal adverbial clauses and DBDs regarding the way they achieve anaphoric reference:

- (156)
- a. To koritsi bazei tis fwnes sta mikra kai paei sto mpanio **na pluthei kai na allaxei**.
  - b. To kabaletto sthnetai sth thesh tou skoupizetai o cwros kai mazeuontai ta crwmata.
  - c. To megalutero koritsi etoimo pali kai **afou exei allaxei** katebainei katw.
- 
- a. The girl tells the children off and goes to the bathroom to take a bath and **change clothes**.
  - b. The easel is put up the place is cleaned up and the paint-pots are picked up.
  - c. The eldest girl ready again and **after she had changed clothes** goes downstairs. (Maria K., 24 years old).

The structure is as follows:



**intention to perform activity X:**

she goes to *change clothes*

**competition of the same activity:**

after she *had changed clothes*

- (157)
- a. O Giwrgos omws erixe dunata thn mpala kai epese panw  
|----> sto kabaletto kai epese katw h zwgrafia ths mamas kai  
| oi mpogies epesan panw ths.
  - b. O Giwrgos kai h Mairh kathhsan amesws katw giati  
| fobhthhkan mhn tous ctuphsei h mama tous. H mama phge  
| sto mpanio gia na alaxei ta lerwmena rouca ths.
  - c. ki enw ekane mpanio ta paidia **metaniwmena gia thn**  
|----- **praxh tous** shkwsan ton pinaka kai skouphsan to  
cwro apo tis mpogies.... (Theodora K., adult)

Contrary to (156), in (157) the discourse bracketing device (*metaniwmena gia thn praxh tous*) refers and labels a series of activities in (a.) but not a specific one. The nouns "praxh" (deed) or "aprosexia" (carelessness) in (151) have an indexing and, additionally, a labelling role; while they refer back to an action, they simultaneously label it, allowing in this way narrator's own voice to get through.

Given the above discussion, one can easily explain the absence of DBDs from the children's texts. DBDs are not simple forms but complex textual strategies one can use to encode and reflect upon the information given. So, two tasks are needed to be performed by the narrator in order to create an interesting story.

a) encode explicitly the narrative events and clearly differentiate between levels of importance between them through the use of appropriate forms (temporal clauses, participles, present-past tense alternation, among others)

b) and to differentiate between modes of information presentation (narrative vs. evaluative mode). This, in essence, requires different production formats. To adopt Goffman's (1981) terminology, one has to differentiate between the personae writers put on. Narrators can be simple presenters of information and/or persons that commit themselves to this information. It is this alternation in perspective or in "footing", to use Goffman's term, and further the need to interweave these two perspectives through the choice of linguistic forms, that causes difficulties to children.

The ability to mark separate voices in narrative is not a linguistic given but forms part of children's larger socialization into language skills. (for oral narratives,

see McCabe and Peterson (1990) and Wolf and Hicks (1990). We know that adult speakers from different sociocultural backgrounds utilize different linguistic means to encode narrative events and that children also adopt different narrative styles as part of their primary language socialization. Indeed, analyses have shown that children have distinct ways of talking about events. Consider the distinct textual effects brought about by the use of DBDs. Two texts are considered written by two 12 year-old children:

- (158) Cwris na casei katholou kairo **exagriwmenh kai neurikh** anebhke tis skales kai mphke mesa sto spiti. Anoixe **neuriasmena** thn porta tou mpaniou, kai koitacthke ston kathrefth. **Ekplhkth** antikruse pws htan polu geloia m' auta ta crwmata kai amesws gemise thn mpaniera. Arcise na plunetai **toso grhgora** pou pitsilies petagontan katw sto patwma.

Without losing more time **angry and upset** she climbed the stairs and went inside. She opened the door **agrily**, and looked at herself in the mirror. **Surprised** she found she looked silly with all these colour-stains and **immediately** filled up the bathtub. She started to wash herself **so quickly** that water splattered on the floor.  
(Maria M., 12 year old)

The use of connectives satisfies not only the principle of tellability by creating a text which is not only cohesive but an interesting story. Maria's story was regarded to be the best among all texts written by the 12 year-old children. Consider, in contrast, the text below:

- (159) O Nikos **cevis na to thelei** ricnei thn mpala ston pinaka ths Eirhnhs. Tote pettei katw o pinakas kai oi mpoçies sto forema ths Eirhnhs. H Eirhnh thumwse kai malwse ta duo paidia. Meta apo auta h Eirhnh phge na allaxe forema kai na kanei mpanio. Sto metaxu ta paidia katharizane ton khpo. Afou h Eirhnh teleiwse to mpanio forese ena allo forema kai phge exw ston khpo.

Nikos **accidentally** throws the ball towards Irene's easel. As a result the easel is knocked over and the paints covered Irene's dress. Irene got upset and told the two children off. After these Irene went in to change clothes and take a bath. Meanwhile the children were cleaning the garden. After Irene took her bath (she) put on a new dress and went back to the garden. (Thanassis P., 12 years old)

Text (159) is certainly a cohesive piece of work. The changes in characters' activities

are clearly indicated with the use of connectives and relations are clearly marked. Nevertheless, the text is not an interesting story.

But now the question that is raised is this: The principles of Foregrounding and Communicative Efficiency were shown to constitute Tellability, but what is the relation between them? In what way do these principles relate, not to the higher principle of Tellability, but to each other?

So far, we have seen just one way in which principles can relate to each other: one of the principles was always seen to be higher than the other. With regard to the case at hand and from the analysis of the collected texts, the first indication we have is that both principles, the principle of Communicative efficiency and that of Foregrounding, are important for the creation of a tellable text. Building cohesion (that is, facilitating the flow of information within and across topics) as well as differentiating the linguistic textual norm on a variety of different levels (by using subordinate clauses in a series of main clauses or present tense in a sequence of past tenses) are essential tasks the language producer has to perform in order to create a tellable text. The empirical findings may lead one to conclude that both principles are equal, but this claim runs into a number of additional difficulties, such as what it means to say that two principles are equal. Given my interest in the decision-making processes that underlie language use, it could be proposed that two principles are of equal importance when a narrator assigns the same rank to both of them. But this claim does not make sense either. So, what is the relation between the two principles? Let us focus on the empirical results themselves. The results of the empirical analyses made it clear that although some forms may satisfy the requirements of both principles (subordinate clauses, Discourse Bracketing Devices), there is a great range of forms (connectives, zero connectives) that satisfy the injunctions of just one of these principles and not the other. This result restated reads as follows: there is a relation of partial overlap between the two principles with the principle of Foregrounding situated at some higher level; in this way, forms that satisfy the principle of Foregrounding necessarily satisfy that of Communicative Efficiency but this is not so the other way round. Both principles, the principle of Communicative Efficiency and that of Foregrounding, are instantiations of the Tellability principle.

### **Summarizing the Results**

In examining the nature and development of narrative textual logic in Greek, it was found that a gradual shift occurs away from reliance on discourse-level information toward an increasing use of syntax as a means of indicating the dependencies among the various utterances. Four discrete stages were identified.

a) use of a patterned alternation of specific connectives ("and"- "and then") to serve discourse level functions, that is to create cohesion and indicate topic-level changes.

(160) a. hstera ta paidia, grhgora ta mazepsan

b. meta h mama bghke apo to mpanio

a. then the children, immediately picked everything up

b. then their mom came out of the bathroom  
(Irene S., 8 years old).

b) extensive reliance on pragmatics to create cohesion (I- principle)

(161) a. **0** The lady was covered in paint and went to the bathroom to clean herself.

b. **0** the children were tidying up the things

c. **0** the lady went out of the bathroom and the boy offered the lady flowers and hugged each other  
(George N., 10 years old).

c) grammaticalization of implicatures through the use of explicit connectives.

(162) a. The girl got angry and went to tell everything to her mother.

b. **Then** she went to have a bath.

c. **Meanwhile** the children started to clear up the place. (Nikoleta K., 10 years old).

and d) gradual use of forms that signal the narrator's attitude towards the events described.

(163) a. **Aganaktismenh** h Cristina phgainei sto spiti na pluthei kai na allaxei rouca.

b. En tw metaxu ta duo paidia **stenocwrhmena apo thn aprosexia tous** prospathoun na epanorthwsoun tactopoiwntaV ta pragmata ths Cristinas kai skoupizontas tis mpogies pou epesan katw.  
(Paraskeuh S., 22 years old).

(164) Christina **(being) very upset** goes to her house to clean herself and change clothes.

Meanwhile the two children **feeling very sorry** for

their mischief try to make up by putting an order to Christina's things and cleaning the paints they had fallen down. (Paraskeuh S., 22 years old).

## **Chapter 7**

### **Strategies in Conflict: Foregrounding Identity through Language versus Action**

It is time to pull together the various threads developed so far and draw some general conclusions regarding the nature of Tellability and its relation to other principles for Greek culture. The previous chapters led to the following conclusions:

1. There is one basic principle underlying written narrative text production, Tellability.
2. Tellability is of a normative, prescriptive nature and functions as the principle of common origin for the system of textual logic.
3. Tellability constitutes the definition of written narrative discourse in Greek- written narrative is equated with the tellable presentation of a sequence of personally-, socially- and/or culturally-important events. (Polanyi, 1981a,b, 1985)

In what follows, I show that these points are of sufficient power for the conception of narrative text production that develops (i.e. as the result of a basic normative and culturally-specific core) to be of interest. I do this by investigating whether Tellability is the only end-state to pursue within written narrative discourse in Greek. I claim that it is; pursuing any other concern would render a text unacceptable.

In order to support this claim, I draw from data in which disagreements occur regarding the expectations in the end-states to be pursued in narrative texts. Interviews with the children and their teacher are also used as a means of capturing their unstated assumptions that give rise to the structure of their texts.

The children were asked to write about two topics that were within their range of experience (chapter 2 has presented all the details). They were asked to write about "a day they went school totally unprepared" and also to describe "something naughty they had done". I examine the texts written by the 12 year-old children;



the two other groups (8- and 10-year old children) had written very short and noncohesive accounts with the result that many factors contributing to text quality would be conflated. The aim of the analysis is to provide an answer to the question at issue: is Tellability the only end-state that Greek narrators are expected to pursue when narrating through written language?

For the purposes of the analysis it might be useful to return to our overarching and nonverbal notion of performance (sketched in chapter 1) as self-foregrounding. We have seen that in Chalki everyday action entails strategies of contest, specifically contest over self-importance. Self-foregrounding is a core notion through which a system of semantic oppositions is integrated and acquires significance. This section illustrates how verbal discourse illuminates the principles of social interaction at work in the community.

### 7.1. Cultural Constraints on Story-Telling: What is the Point?

Let us begin by considering the following text:

- (165) Egw otan hmouna 7 crwnwn ekana mia zhmia pou einai h  
exhs:  
Htan mia kalokairiatikh mera otan h mhtera mou me  
esteile na agorasw duo pothria. Phra ta lefta kai phga  
na agorasw ta duo pothria. Afou mpainw sto katasthma  
pou poulouse ualika phra ta duo pothria pou hthela  
plhrwsa ki efeiga. Molis mphka sthn aulh tou spitioy  
mou glistraei to ena pothri peftei katw kai spaei. Paw  
to lew sth mhtera mou pws espasa to ena pothri. H mhtera  
mou me malwse kai mou eipe na prosecw allh fora kai phge  
na mazepsei ta gualia pou eica spasei.

When I was seven years old I did something bad which  
is the following one:  
It was a beautiful sunny day when my mother send me  
shopping. She asked me to buy two glasses of water. I  
took the money and went to buy them. After I entered a  
big crystal shop, I bought two glasses, paid for them  
and went home. As soon as I stepped into the garden, one  
of the glasses slips out of my hands and breaks into  
pieces. I go inside and tell my mother that I had  
dropped one of the glasses. My mother scolded me and  
told me to be careful and she went to clean the  
splinters. (Basilis B., 10 years old).

What is the point in this story? How was it treated by school and what does this indicate about the relation between community-school strategies for rendering experience? I will discuss the text shortly.

Children's narratives (such as (165), I claim, portray the reality of the

community. Conveyed in their texts is the ideology of Chalki, expressed through a variety of non-verbal different means (clothes, outings). To understand the claims put forward in the texts, it is necessary to explore and make explicit the context where these texts are produced. I proceed therefore by relating the texts to aspects of context until it is possible not only to capture the major premises on which they rely but also to reveal the coherence in forms of expression used by this community in different domains (verbal, non-verbal discourse) and situate the storytelling patterns and principles isolated so far in the general discourse of this community.

Despite the divergence of the two themes they were presented with (a school- and a home-based incident), the narrators went about recounting events in conformity with very definite procedures. These procedures operate on the content and specify two ways of recounting experience: foreground self by:

1. recasting
2. lowering the importance of an event

### *Recasting*

One may, for instance, lower his responsibility (2 texts only) for causing damage by recasting the experience in a different frame, as the following text.

- (166) Mia fora pou eice erthei h theia mou sto spiti kai eleipe h mama mou skefthka na thn kerasw ena gluko. All to gluko den htane camhla htane polu pshla. Egw den mporousa na to ftasw ki etsi ebala mia karekla. Alla gia atucia glustrhse to gluko apo ta ceria mou kai epese katw eice ginei cilia-duo kommatakia. Molis akouse h theia mou ton bronto hrthe sthn kouzina na dei ti ginetai. Egw fobhthhka mhn me malwsei all den me malwse me phre me ton kalo ton tropo. "Ti ekanes Maria;" Na theia hthela na se kerasw ena gluko kai me epese to bazo katw. Den htane anagkh ne mou kerasis afou tha ercotane kai h mhtera sou. theia Elenh xereis ti lew na kanoume na paroume mia skoupa kai ena farasi kai na ta skoupisoume kai usteri na paroume ta sfouggaropano kai na sfouggarisoume. Kala phgene twra na mou fereis th skoupa, to farasi, to sfouggaropano kai ena kouba nero. egw phga kai ta efera alla panw sthn wra pou h theia mou sfouggarize hrthe kai h mama mou. Ti ginetai edw. Na mama hrthe h theia mou kai skefthka na thn kerasw gluko alla to gluko mou epese apo ta ceria kai mou epese. Ela den einai tipota alla allh fora na proseceis.

Once when my aunt came home and my mother was not there

I wanted to treat her. But the jar with the sweet was not on a low shelf it was very high up. I myself could not reach it and so I used a chair. But to my bad luck the jar slipped out of my hands and broke into pieces. When my aunt heard the noise came in the kitchen to see what had happened. I was afraid in case I was told off but she did not tell me off she went the good way. "what have you done Maria"? "Aunt, I just wanted to offer you some sweet but the jar toppled over". "it was not necessary since your mother comes in any minute". "Aunt Helen, do you know what I think? to take a broom and sweep everything away and then take a cloth and clean the place". "All right, but go now and bring me the broom and a cloth and a bucket of water". I went and got them but by the time my aunt was sweeping the floor, mom came back. What is happening here. Mom, aunt came for a visit and I just thought to offer her something but the jar toppled over and broke into pieces. All right, it is nothing important, be careful next time.  
(Maria G., 12 years old).

The story is an attempt at self-justification. On the one hand, the narrator is well aware that her activity caused damage and will incur her mother's disapproval; on the other, she inserts her action into a different context recasting its significance. The host who serves visitors whatever can be found is the epitome of a larger principle of life in the community. Visitors are important persons and need to be treated (see also Herzfeld (1985)). The ability to make the best of any situation and take over the role of the mother when she is absent is the key component in the local definition of the "good girl". Women are called to articulate their performance in this way. The frame is invoked, the individual action within it (breaking the jar) does not really matter.

### *Lowering the Importance of the Event*

Consider now the following text:

- (167) Mia mera egw kai h oikogeneia mou phrame (e1)  
to autokinhto kai phgame (e2) sth theia mou. Ekei h  
theia mou mas phran (e3) kai phgame (e4) se ena kentro.  
Ekei pou phgame (D) thumhthhka (e5) oti den eica  
diabasei. Tote eipa (e6) sto mpampa mou oti den eica  
diabasei. Tote o mpampas mou me phre (e7) na pame  
sto spiti. Sto dromo akousame (e8) ena mpam. Tote  
tromaxame. (e9) O pateras mou bghke (e10) kai eide  
(e11) oti to lastico eice spasei. Tote o pateras mou  
ekane (e12) otostop! Omws kanena autokinhto den  
stamatouse (D). Afou perasan treis wres (D) ena  
autokinhto stamathse (e13) kai mas phre (e14). Otan  
ftasame sto spiti (e15) htan h wra mia (D). Otan phra  
na diabasw (e16) me phre o upnos. (e17) To prwi otan

xupnhsa (e18) h wra htan 8 (D). Afou ntuthhka (e19), pluthhka (e20) ctenisthka (e21) hpia to prwino mou (e22). Otan eftasa sto scoleio (e23) ctuphse to koudouni. (e24) Molis hrthe o daskalos (e25) arcise (e26) to mathhma. Tote egw denm hxera tipota (D) kai o daskalos mou katalabe (e27) oti hmoun adiabastos. Tote me fwnaxe (e28) kai mou eipe (e29) na mhn xanapaw adiabastos.

One day my family and I got into the car (e1) and visited (e2) my aunt. My aunt and uncle invited us (e3) and we went (e4) to a new taverna that had opened nearby. As we were driving there (D), I realized (e5) that I hadn't done my homework. So, I asked (e6) my father to go home. Then my father took us (e7) back. As we were driving back (D), we heard (e8) a bang. Then we got scared. (e9) My father got out (e10) of the car and saw (e11) one of the tyres flat. So, my father tried to (e12) stop any of the cars that were passing by and ask for help. But no car stopped. (D) Three hours had passed (D) until a driver stopped (e13) and gave us (e14) a lift. When we arrived home (e15), it was one o'clock in the morning. (D) When I went (e16) to prepare my homework, I immediately fell (e17) asleep. When I got up (e18) it was 8 o'clock in the morning. (D) After I got dressed (e19), I washed my face (e20) combed my hair (e21) I had my breakfast (e22). When I arrived at school (e23) the bell rang (e24). When the teacher came in (e25) he began (e26) teaching. But I did not know anything (D) and the teacher understood (e27) that I hadn't prepared my homework. So he told me off (e28) and asked me (e29) not to be unprepared in the future. (Athanasios R., 12 years-old).

Point:

I was not irresponsible; it was not my fault that I went school unprepared.

Consider the strategies the narrator uses for conveying information in relation to the text cited above as (165).

- (168) When I was seven years old I did something bad which is the following one: It was a beautiful sunny day when my mother sent me shopping. She asked me to buy two water glasses. I took the money and went to buy them. After I entered a big crystal shop, I bought two glasses, paid for them and went home. As soon as I stepped into the garden, one of the glasses slips out of my hands and breaks into pieces. I go inside and tell my mother that I had dropped one of the glasses. My mother scolded me and told me to be careful and she went to clean the splinters. (Basilis B., 10).

In narrating the events, the children seem to perform a memory task. They are worried about the actual events and do not want to miss out the event line; the texts clearly function as the discourse-level instantiations of the Manner sub-maxim: "be orderly".

The structure of (167) can be presented as this:

| Narrative               |                |
|-------------------------|----------------|
| Descriptive Information | Event Line     |
|                         | e1             |
|                         | kai + e2       |
|                         | e3             |
|                         | kai + e4       |
| D                       |                |
|                         | e5             |
|                         | conn + e6      |
|                         | conn + e7      |
|                         | e8             |
|                         | conn + e9      |
|                         | e10            |
|                         | kai + e11      |
|                         | conn + e12     |
| D                       |                |
| D                       |                |
|                         | e13            |
|                         | kai + e14      |
|                         | sub. cl. + e15 |
| D                       |                |
|                         | sub. cl. + e16 |
|                         | e17            |
|                         | sub. cl. + e18 |
| D                       |                |
|                         | sub. cl. + e19 |
|                         | e20            |
|                         | e21            |
|                         | e22            |
|                         | sub. cl + e23  |
|                         | e24            |
|                         | sub. cl. + e25 |
|                         | e26            |
| D                       |                |
|                         | kai + e27      |
|                         | conn + e28     |
|                         | kai + e29      |

This aim, however, cohesive description of a sequence of events, seems to run contrary to the expected goal: when attending to readers' responses, the result was surprising. The texts were not judged to be good narratives, but were thought of to be bald and simple accounts of the events. An obvious explanation would be that the children had problems in extracting the most tellable piece of information from their background knowledge and presenting it in the appropriate way. While this can indeed be a problem that we all face when writing, it can hardly account for



this group of data. Tellability is not related to the nature of the experience narrated as such; it is rather the effect resulting from the specific way in which information is linguistically rendered. The problem the children face is not related to the actual events selected for narration but rather to the way in which these events were presented through language.

Why is it then that children focus greatly on detailed accounts of events characterized by readers as uninteresting? The children's own comments may offer a clue accounting for their insistence on supplying the reader with as much information as possible. When asked, all of them agreed that it was a very bad thing to go to school unprepared; that they "are afraid of what the teacher would say and they feel embarrassed in front of their classmates". As for their misbehaving, the children said that they misbehave regularly at home but they do not narrate all these occasions, because the teacher would think "what bad children we are at home". The teacher's own remarks are revealing too. Discussing the children's texts on the topic of mischief, he said "What would the little child think when you ask him to write about misbehaving? " I must write about something small; that I dropped a vase or something like that so as I as a teacher will not judge him as a bad boy. Now, everybody wrote about the vase because this is the topic one thinks of when is asked to write about misdeeds at home and so it (the topic) is less vulnerable." "The children always try to find excuses to cover things up. When you ask a child "why did you do that" he says "because John did it too". He tries to shift responsibility. That's why he gives so much detail; he wants to make me believe that he is a good pupil and it was not his fault that he did not study. Look: he says "This and this and this happened. How could I find time to study my lessons too?"

I regard the teacher's remarks not only valid but insightful enough to get to the heart of the decisions made by the children about the way of information presentation in their stories. The essential point isolated is that the redundancies and the high degree of detail found in children's texts stem from the special type of relationship between the children and their teacher. This relationship is asymmetrical, in the sense that whereas the teacher has power, the children, being of lower status, are subjected to continuous evaluation. As such, the structure of the texts was tailored according to the local conception of this type of context: school is a public place and, therefore, a place for self-foregrounding.

The need to defend face arises when someone has put forward a face-threatening claim. The children were asked to write a story whose topic threatened the "better picture", and the children rely on argumentation to restore it. The children disagree on the unquestioned acceptability of the topic and wish to convince the opponent through verbal means. In the text produced, the children indicate their position vis-a-vis the opinion which constitutes the point of contention.



Both the topics offered to the children function as face threatening acts. They challenge children's face as both carry with them the presupposition that children have indeed gone to school unprepared (at least once) and that they have indeed misbehaved at home. Given the situation they are in - that is, fictitious narrative text production- it would be expected that writers would not be interested in truthfulness but, on the contrary, they would share this belief and proceed to justify it by telling a fictitious story. This is exactly what the children did not do. The structure of their texts represents an attempt to reject the assumptions by pointing to reasons which, as they were external to their volition, the children could not control. The children, as writers, put forward a number of assertions which although at the individual-level referring to events, have the cumulative effect of undermining this assumption. Under the narrative format of sequential event mention, children's texts are argumentative.

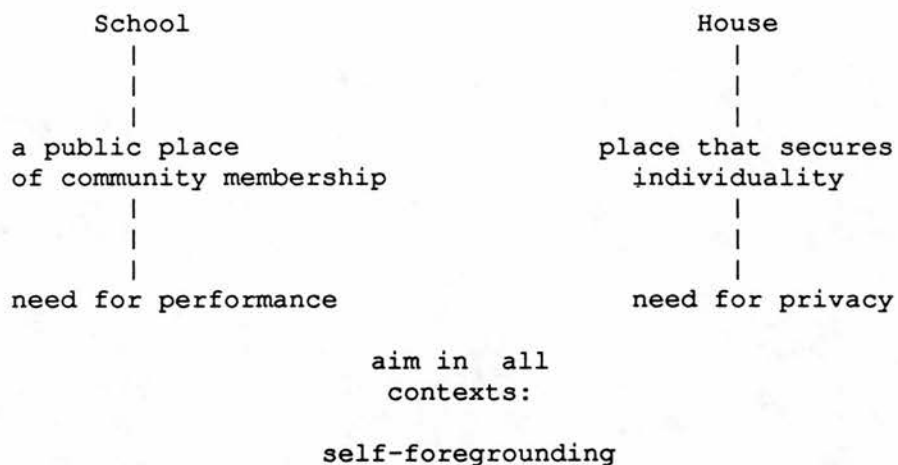
### *Summarizing the Results*

Children's texts were closely related to the local value system; to reject this would have been to remove people from the world as they have constructed it in spheres of activity and performance. This would, in turn, obliterate all aspects of their relationship between self, the other, and space (for the significance space has in different cultures, see Basso (1984)).

The general point is this: the texts draw on the model of oral storytelling (sketched in chapter 3) which holds that the role of narratives is to establish and negotiate self-identity through strategies aiming at self-foregrounding.

The points storytellers make are expressions of an underlying logic incorporating and expressing local conceptions of people and give rise to specific patterns of social action.

When the children narrate their deeds either at school or at home, they interpret them in relation to themselves through a double-level differentiation: as individuals versus members of a community. The two events (damage at home, incident at school) are examined in terms of the way in which they impinge on the self. The relation between self- and others is not a culture- and/or community enacted distinction. It is an existential dilemma, a fundamental human problem cast here in a culturally-specific way which builds on the opposition between inside (house) and outside (school, square). The storytelling patterns in children's oral and written storytelling are ways of understanding and expressing this antinomy between privacy and performance, in a similar way as beer drinking is a pattern to negotiate and understand antinomies in Africa (Iteso society across the Kenyan-Uganda border) and cock fights in Balinese society (Geertz (1973)).



**Table 11:** The system of semantic oppositions pervading children's written narrative text production

### Tellability in Story-Telling

In relation to this background, consider now the following text which was regarded as the "most literate" among the texts written by the 12 year-old children.

(169) De nomizw, na uparcei anthropos, pou na mhn ecei kanei, ligo-polu, kai kamia zhmia. Oloi kanoume zhmiēs, ma pio polu emeis ta mikra paidia. E, loipon den sas krubw, pws ki egw ecw kanei ws twra arketes zhmiēs. Gia na eimai eilikrinhs, pote den ecw kanei, kapoia...as to poume ekdikitikh zhmia. A, auto den to ecw kanei pote. Loipon, twra pou plhsiazoun ta Cristougenna, h mhtera mou, eftiaxe merika gluka. Kai na xerete, pws mou aresoun ta gluka! Etsi loipon, ena bradu phga krufa sthn kouzina, kai efaga scedon ta misa gluka, egw! Suntoma, h mhtera mou anakalupse pws eleipan arketa gluka, kai... upopsiasthke pws, isws to ekane egw. Meta apo ligo mou ponouse fobera k koilia mou. Ma tote htan olofanero pia, kai h mhtera mou katalabe, poios to ekane. Eutucws, de mou malwse, alla mou eipe na mhn to xanakanw. Ma pws htan dunaton, n' afhsw auta ta nostima gluka! Exallou, mou aresoun toso polu!

I do not think there is a single person who hasn't, more or less, misbehaved. All people misbehave but most of all we, the small children.  
 Well, I am not going to hide from you that I have misbehaved quite a few times so far. To be sincere, I have never misbehaved.. let's say for the purpose of taking revenge. Oh, no, this I have never done. Well, now that Christmas is approaching my mother has

prepared some sweets. And if you could only know how much I like sweets! Well, one night I went secretly to the kitchen and I managed almost half the amount of the sweets, yes me! Soon, my mother found out that half of the sweets were gone and.....suspected that, maybe I had done it. After a while my tummy was acheing. But then it was too obvious and my mother was sure who had done it. Fortunately, she did not scold me but advised me not to do this again. But how could it be possible to leave such delicious sweets untouched. You know I like sweets so much!  
(Maria M., 12 years old)

The text uses "evaluative" devices, there is a strong focus on detailed descriptions of mental events whereas the narrator does not miss the opportunity to stall the forward movement of the narrative time by performing some background work in the form of descriptions. In this way, two different threads are developed which are traced throughout the text, the real-life and the story thread, the latter encompassing the "narrative" event mode and the "evaluative" mode, graphically illustrated thus:

#### *Orientation of Story*

I do not think there is a single person who hasn't, more or less, misbehaved. All people misbehave but most of all we, the small children.

#### *Real- Life*

...Well, I am not going to hide from you that I have misbehaved quite a few times so far.

To be sincere, I never misbehaved  
...let's say for the purpose of taking revenge. Oh, no, this I have never done.

#### *Event-Line*

#### *Orientation of Event-Line*

**Well**, now that Christmas is approaching, my mother has prepared some sweets.

And if you could only know how much I like sweets!

#### *Narrative*

**Well**, one night I went secretly to the

kitchen and I managed  
almost half the amount of  
the sweets,

yes me!

Soon my mother found out  
that half of the sweets  
were gone and .....  
suspected that, **maybe**  
I had done it. After a  
while my tummy was  
acheing. **But then it**  
**was too obvious** and my  
mother was sure who  
had done it.  
**Fortunately**, she did  
not scold me but advised  
me not to do this again.

But how could it be possible to  
leave such delicious sweets  
untouched. As you know I like  
sweets so much!

Maria undertakes three different types of voices within her story managing to move from one to the other and establishing coherence. At first she undertakes the stance of the real-life person and establishes empathy with the audience by stepping outside the narrative and revealing secrets about her life, her likes and dislikes. The second line consists of the enumeration of completed events, whereas a third line runs through the same narrative account, in which the narrator reflects on and evaluates the events narrated.

It is not the content as such in Maria's story that was regarded as important but rather the way in which this content was presented through language.

But was why text production such a difficult task for the rest children to perform? I argue that this is because in Greek culture, narratives do not aim to convey information; they create images and feelings and portraits of the self. Language is used to sweep the reader along. Language transforms the world into significant and less than significant elements, it both captures and creates them. Good use of language in storytelling creates magic images and makes people experience things they only dream about. As such, Tellability as the principle to be pursued in written narrative texts is in harmony with the interactional aspect of life in the community, the means of expression used in non-verbal domains. Through the tellable use of language, one surpasses the community, understands more. Meaning is all around but it is only through language that one can capture and express it. Language does not simply convey the reality: it is the element that creates and transmits this reality. For Chalki, language is one of the means to

articulate performance and self-foregrounding. And because this is a community of hard everyday labour, language is the means that can help people escape the harsh reality. Whether working in the fields or doing the housework, language helps them realize the possibilities of the outside, capture the world in a different way, envisage new realities.

## 7.2. Conflicts between Goals

Against the background of this empirical work, we can now proceed to the question of the Tellability Principle. The results demonstrate that Tellability is not just the goal *expected* to be satisfied but rather the goal that *ought to be* adhered to within a narrative-discourse situation (written narratives). This was most clearly presented within the structured school-situation; those children are seen to do well who construct texts in the way it ought to be done, that is by satisfying Tellability, as defined in this thesis: i.e. to establish communicative efficiency and differentiate levels of information (distinguish and interweave narrative voices).

In Greek culture, within a narrative text, Tellability is expected to be assigned a higher order of priority than any other goal. A different principle would belong to this system only insofar as it can be related to the Tellability principle in some way. Foregrounding face as a different goal-specifying principle cannot be excluded as an end-state to be pursued within narrative discourse. But even if face-foregrounding is chosen as the goal to be aimed at, still this goal must be rendered in a tellable way. As readers' responses make it clear, Politeness (in the sense of preserving and foregrounding face) needs to be subsumed under Tellability. There is thus an element of pressure towards conformity to Tellability. In order to capture this, I need to postulate that Tellability constitutes not just the expected end state but rather the *normative goal* to be followed within narrative discourse in Greek. There is some socially-transmitted pressure against deviating from that goal. As a result of the operation of such social processes, people are disposed to reason in ways similar to the schema that "they ought to do X in discourse-situation C".

Given this account, it becomes clear that the structure of the practical syllogism that guides processes of language production needs to be reformulated to take into account the normative, prescriptive element that guides language producers. According to the original version, language producers were assumed to follow a structure of reasoning that brings them from a specific set of goals to the means for reaching these goals, in the following way:

- (170)            (P1) An agent A intends to achieve goal E
- (P2) He considers that unless he does X, he cannot  
                             reach E
- 
- (C) Therefore, he does X

This type of practical reasoning moves entirely at the level of intentions and epistemic attitudes. Nowhere is clear where society enters in and conditions language use. The reformulated version proposed captures the existence of normative goals and the pressure exerted by them, i.e. exhortations to conform to, criticism of deviation from and justification of conformity to the normative goal. The reformulated version is as follows:

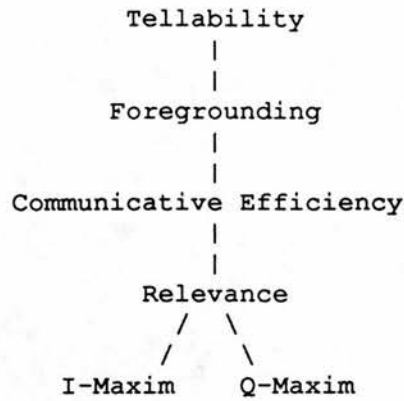
- (171)            (P1) A *ought to* attain goal E in discourse  
                             situation C
- (P2) A considers that unless he does X, he cannot  
                             reach goal E
- 
- (C) A therefore does X

It is through socialization processes (at home and school) that language producers come to internalize the goals associated with specific discourse situations and it is in institutions that transmit ideology such as schools that one can most clearly see how normativity is reinforced. Society in this way conditions the way language producers should go about writing narrative texts.

### **7.3. The System of the Principles Underlying Narrative Text Production in Greek**

Given the discussion so far, the system and interrelations of the principles constituting narrative text production can be illustrated thus:





*Figure 10: The Complete System of Principles of Narrative Textual Logic in Greek*

As the diagram shows, processes of narrative text production in Greek follow a hierarchically organized structure of goals. Lower-level goals are negotiated as means of satisfying higher-ones.

We can conceptualize the relationships that obtain between the various maxims and principles as inclusion relationships. As we ascend the structure, the principles become less specific and admit of no violations. The two elementary maxims, the Q- and the I- maxim, are rather specific and admit of violations, in the sense that it is possible in particular cases not to follow their injunctions. One, for example, may decide not to give information or to give information only at certain points within a text. In this sense, both the elementary maxims are overridable, but this is not to be considered as a drawback. It would have been impossible for these elementary maxims to fulfil their role without the possibility of being overridden.

In contrast, the principle of Tellability along with its two instantiations (the principle of Communicative Efficiency and the Principle of Foregrounding) were found not to admit of exceptions. Since they are prescriptive principles, their injunctions have to be adhered to. One can not choose whether to build a cohesive text or not. Given a certain situation, such as narrative discourse, each of these principles has to be followed so that the language producer creates a tellable text; the effects of any violation are clearly demonstrated in situations where it is most evident that conventionalized knowledge should be respected: in schools.

## **Chapter 8**

### **Reflecting on the System Proposed: A Meta-analytic Account of "Textual Logic"**

The main task of this work was divided in two parts, both equally essential. The first was to give an account of the storytelling reality in a Greek community, the second to provide a justification for the proposed account through an examination of the reasons that guarantee the validity of the system of textual logic.

With regard to the first aim, this work has argued for a conception of narrative text production as the product of a culturally-specific structure of principles. The main conclusions are as follows:

1. Narrative text production is a goal-directed activity.
2. Goals form nested structures; lower-level goals are embedded within and are instantiations of higher, comprehensive goals and
3. The higher, comprehensive goals are of a social, normative character.

Such conclusions testify to a conception of text production as more than the result of the application of isolated principles; narrative text production has some kind of unity. By undertaking a meta-analytic account of the system, I claim that this unity consists of certain patterns of logical relations among the constituent principles. We, for instance, advocate not only Relevance (R), Communicative Efficiency (E) and Tellability (T) but also T because E and R. All these principles, in their turn, derive their validity directly or indirectly from a principle of common origin; the latter, capturing the world-view of the community, is the principle which gives consistency and coherence to the system of narrative textual logic.

To deal with the first part of the task and neglect the second, as is usual in Discourse Analysis, is to leave the theory developed unsupported and ungrounded. But although such a justification is essential for having an adequate theory, the task is difficult. The resources for constructing my argument are seriously limited and require knowledge of recent developments in other fields.

I shall pursue this topic by drawing on philosophy (Moser (1985), DePaul (1988)) to demonstrate that any meta-analytic account of text production must depend on and presuppose some ultimate principles which themselves are not empirically provable but which must be postulated in order to give coherence and consistency to the system of empirically-derived principles. Discourse Analysts may be reluctant to agree with my demand for an intuitive grasp of first principles, as this claim would conflict with the methodology established in the field. It will be shown, however, that such a claim must be made in the pursuit of a theory of text production with two characteristics: coherence and explanatory power.

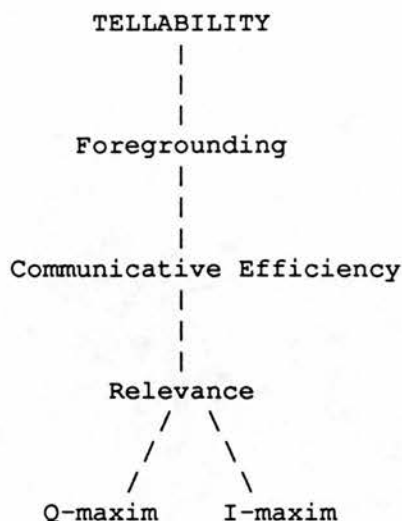
### **8.1. Rationality, Tellability, and Non-Empirical Justification**

Human action and text production as a particular instance of it can be enacted in varying degrees of depth and awareness and situated on different levels, the following ones.

On the first level I place everyday, ordinary people who use language to construct meaning, i.e. to tell stories, to put forward arguments, to joke etc. while their interlocutors criticize, evaluate or comment on them. (This account oversimplifies here in suggesting that language production and evaluation are always separate. As has been made clear in chapters 4, 5 and 6, deliberation, choice and evaluation of choices are all intertwined during the process of language production).

On the second level I place Discourse Analysts (seen as analysts of both conversation and written text) who inquire into language production and interpretation processes situated on the previous level and generalize about language use. The work reported so far is situated on this second level. The questions were questions dealt with within a certain paradigm (DA) that provided me with the model of the story I ought to tell and set the standards for its investigation.

The justification of the system of textual logic derived from this work, however, is of a meta-analytic or conceptual nature and has to take place on a third level. Let us begin the task by sketching the structure of the principles derived at so far as seen in figure 10.



The Q- and I-maxim specify the means one can use for language production. Justification arises for the principles specifying the goals for the language producers to pursue. The principle of Relevance is an instantiation of the principle of Communicative Efficiency; the justification of Relevance would therefore amount to showing the validity of its higher principle, the principle of Communicative Efficiency. The latter, however, is an instantiation of the principle of Foregrounding. The task, in turn, brings us down to showing that in order to justify Communicative Efficiency, it is necessary to show that the principle of Foregrounding is a valid one. This procedure, however, would involve a still higher level of validation. To justify the principle of Foregrounding, we would need to justify the principle of Tellability. All principles lead up to the principle of Tellability and, therefore, their deducibility from Tellability depends directly or indirectly on the adoption of Tellability as a *valid* principle. Given that Tellability has been identified as the superior principle guiding storytelling in Greek, where does Tellability itself come from? I have already hinted at the answer to this question: Tellability is the end state everyone in population P (this community) *expects* to be fulfilled within a narrative discourse-game (written narrative discourse). That is, Tellability is regarded to be the *rational* goal to pursue in the production of written narrative texts. Tellability thus is derived from Rationality (for the nature of Rationality, see Rescher (1988)) in the following way:



*Figure 11: Rationality in Narrative Textual Logic*

This claim, however, initiates a new circle of validation. If Rationality is the highest principle which quarantees coherence to the system of textual logic, where does Rationality come from? It is evident that this account would involve us in a infinite regress. It becomes difficult to see how justification can ever finish or whether there is knowledge at all.

Three are the possibilities open. The process may either:

1. rely on principles further up in the structure
2. be enacted within the system itself in a circle
3. terminate in non-empirical principles

Line 1 of justification has been followed so far; this type of reasoning, which is essentially linear in character, was found to generate problems. A cyclic conception, the one that 2 advocates, might offer a better alternative. But a little reflection renders it equally untenable. If justification moves in a circle within the system of textual logic, there is the problem that at some point the principles used at an earlier stage as principles in need of justification (Relevance, for instance), at a later stage they would be used as justificatory grounds for other principles: if Relevance is justified as the instantiation of the principle of Communicative Efficiency and if the latter as part of the principle of Foregrounding, then the

principle of Foregrounding is justified because its specific instantiations (Relevance, Communicative Efficiency and Foregrounding) have already been justified! This sort of reasoning yields unnecessary complications.

So, what is the alternative? I claim that 3 is the only alternative: empirically-derived principles are justified in terms of non-empirical principles.

Let us begin by taking the principle of Rationality we have arrived at, (that people are acting rationally in pursuing Tellability in written narrative discourse), and examine in more detail what kind of proposition this is. First of all, how do we know that this proposition is true? Alternatively, how can we prove that people pursuing Tellability are rational? We simply cannot prove that; we know that this principle is true. Rationality is the medium through which all human behaviour is viewed and it is only because we assume its existence in the first place that we can make sense of the data, proceed to explain people's choice of specific text-building strategies and make coherent and intelligible sense of the world in general. We can not do anything in terms of empirical procedures that would help us demonstrate the truth of this principle; we cannot empirically prove the existence of Rationality. We can only categorize behaviours as rational or irrational. If we are asked to justify such characterizations, we would most usually come up with justifications of the type "this is what is regarded as the rational thing to do in this culture".

Before proceeding any further, let us reflect on the conclusions reached so far. I have considered two of the elements that I regard as constitutive of the theory proposed: the concept of internal coherence as required by the proposed system of textual logic (pertaining to relations between principles) and the notion of Rationality from which all other principles derive their potential.

The inquiry into whether Rationality can be justified has yielded negative results. The claim this principle makes, that people are rational, is not deducible from any higher premises; on the one hand, this statement is not known to be true because other principles higher up in the structure are known to be true. On the other hand, Rationality is not known to be true on the basis of evidence provided by our senses. So, what is to be made of it? How is this principle supposed to function within the system of pragmatic principles sketched here? The solution I offer to this problem is the standard solution given by philosophers regarding the justification of knowledge and goes back to Aristotle: "foundationalism", i.e. the view that certain principles are justified in a way which somehow does not depend on inference from further empirical principles, thus freeing us from the regress problem. (see Irwin (1988) and, for an opposite view, Bonjour (1985)). And here we come to a third essential element in this account: the relation between Rationality, Tellability and non-empirical justification.



As shown, for the principle of Rationality to apply in any useful way within the system of textual logic, it would not need to function as a principle in need of justification. The principle of Rationality rather presents a presumption; it describes or formulates something that Greek language producers unavoidably do: pursue Tellability in written narrative texts. More to the point, Rationality characterizes Tellability in a way which is, from the standpoint of this community, an unavoidable practice in narrative text production.<sup>25</sup> Given that we agree to this, it becomes evident that the difficulty in our justificatory argument arises only when we start (in line with Discourse Analysis) with the basic presumption that all knowledge should be empirically derived at. It ensues that we must always derive every principle known from some higher principle giving rise to the problem of infinite regress which, however, can be avoided by assuming the existence of a-priori principles. By demanding priority for certain principles, we can claim that these principles can be accepted as true without being derived from empirical principles; they are non empirically-provable and, as such, necessarily true.

I recognize, thus, Rationality as the highest principle of the system of textual logic (and all human behaviour) and one that requires no further justification. At the same time, I deny that this view makes knowledge impossible because I built my account on the rejection of the assumption that knowledge requires empirically-demonstrable first principles. Rationality is a logically prior principle in that all principles, and Tellability in particular, depend for their justification on it while Rationality is not justified by anything else. Consequently, the very idea of justifying the principle of Rationality seems contradictory for it requires us to show the dependence of what is independent.

It ensues then that the element constituting the system of textual logic is the asymmetry in knowledge-status between the principles proposed. Simply said: our knowledge of the empirically-derived principles depends on the higher non-empirically derived principle of Rationality. Nonetheless, the latter is known independently of the former. In the light of this, it is clear that if we reject a-priori knowledge, we cannot guarantee the asymmetry in knowledge and we can no longer claim the obvious, i.e. that Tellability is a rational principle for people in this community to pursue in narrative production. Tellability expresses the logic, the rationality of the Greek culture in written text production and any language producer who denies or violates it within narrative discourse in Greek would contradict his/her culture and, therefore, him/herself.

Given these, I can now exemplify the form of the argument that underlied the whole analyses undertaken in the present thesis. It is an argument which has as its premise the claim that people are rational and puts forward assertions about specific linguistic choices as its conclusion.

People are rational beings, i.e. they employ means to pursue socioculturally-specific ends

(P1) A ought to attain goal T (Tellability) in Greek narrative discourse

(P2) A considers that unless he does X, he cannot reach goal T

-----  
(C) A therefore does X (i.e. chooses specific textual strategies)

The acceptance of this argument has repercussions on the way in which we can properly account for the type of work that Discourse Analysts are engaged in and, consequently, for the field of Pragmatics as a whole. It has been claimed (Brown and Yule (1983)) and it is generally accepted, that Discourse Analysis is an empirical discipline. I do accept this claim; Discourse Analysts after all rely on data collected from real people. But, given the above discussion, this claim can be true only to a certain degree. If we engage in a meta-analysis of the actual type of argumentation that Discourse Analysts advance, we find that their proposals are based on initial assumptions which Discourse Analysts do not clearly articulate and which are not empirically derived at. The non-empirical assumption is the one according to which people are rational. The empirical work of Discourse Analysis incorporates and builds on this non-empirical assumption. It is only by assuming that people are rational that Discourse Analysts can proceed to make sense of the data they analyse. To make my point clear, consider the following example:

(173) A: Do you know the time?

B: Well, the milkman has arrived

B's response on a first level may not be regarded as relevant. B does not really give the information A asked for. Despite that, in everyday interaction this exchange is not treated as absurd. It is only when we assume that people are rational (an assumption which we can not empirically prove) that we can proceed to analyse the above-cited interchange and make clear the reasons that lead people to give information indirectly (i.e. that B did not know the exact time but gave information that would permit A to make out approximately what the time was). Rationality permeates the argumentation advanced in Discourse Analysis; it constitutes the starting assumption upon which Discourse Analysis builds.

It is in this way that I claim that Discourse Analysis as a field cannot be strictly empirical. The normative element is there, although disguised and not explicitly

articulated. My attempt in this thesis was to make clear the way in which both elements, the empirical and the normative, interweave. It is by taking their combination into consideration that we accounted for an aspect of people's behaviour, the way in which they use language to construct meaning in narrative texts.

## 8.2. Conclusion

Stories are one of the means used by people in Chalki for making sense of the world in a certain way which is rational to them. The structure of storytelling is consistent with the Chalkian point of view and its constituent principles are expressions of an underlying logic that invests all aspects of Chalkian life with internal consistency and coherent structure: its own rationality. As such, the storytelling principles reflect a cultural microcosm.

Stories derive from a culturally-specific core: to be a person with zest (*meraki*) for life, to appreciate life to its full and celebrate self. *Meraki* is a poetic notion that encapsulates a specific stance toward life in this community; this concept, which focuses not on content as such but rather on "packaging", the way of rendering experience, is translated into everyday behavioural patterns and value orientations. Performance (as a non-verbal notion) and Tellability (as its verbal counterpart) are the repercussions of this core. Whether it is clothes, the use of language in the construction of stories, or Sunday outings the aim of people is to claim difference and, therefore, a higher status through the foregrounding of the self. The projection of difference for its own sake has a poetic character and provides the anchor by which people in Chalki live, work, cooperate and contest each other: it is the anchor through which they order their world and make coherent sense of everything situated within and outside it.

Within this structure, storytelling (oral and written narratives) provides a means in terms of which people in this community represent and resolve contradictions in their world. In the widest sense, storytelling is Chalkian social theory, a theory not thought of and reflected upon but lived and felt and enacted; this is a theory characterized by a compulsion to relate, order and unify everything Chalkians come in contact with to Tellability and Foregrounding. The significance attributed to the tellable use of language in written stories, in particular, illustrates the role attributed to creation; the tellable use of language transforms the world into more attractive possibilities, it helps transfer story topics from expressions of common, daily things to significant recounts of experience in the community: the tellable use of language creates images that help people understand and capture their everyday experience such as the daily routine, the daily boredom in the community. The life, which is getting shorter. The rain and the damage it caused to the crops. Some tender moments. A holiday to the seaside they never had. The struggle to help their children get away. The hopes for the children who are far away to make it. A hard life under the sun. A life to cherish and foreground in the square: their identity.

## Appendix I

### Teaching Maxims: Practical Applications of "Textual Logic"

#### 0.1. Teaching Coherence

##### Parameters

*Points of Topic Discontinuity* The wider the gap between the present and preceding appearance of a topic is in a discourse, the harder it is for the hearer to identify it. Therefore, the work for the language producer in terms of signalling the various connections is greater.

*Points of Topic Continuity* When the same topic receives continuous mention, it is easy for the hearer to identify it even when s/he is provided with less informational content. Therefore, the language producer's job is to help the reader by avoiding informational redundancy.

##### Activity 1

*Material:* Present children with a text which makes abrupt transitions from each topic to the next.

*Activity:* How can you rewrite the text so that it is easier for the reader to understand what is going on?

**Objective:** Teach the use of forms such as connectives and subordinate clause and helping them understand the effects topic transitions have on text quality.

##### Activity 2

*Material:* Present children with a text which uses the same forms (i.e. Definite Noun Phrases) at points of topic continuity.

*Activity:* Try to make the text less redundant

*Objective:* Teach the role of pronouns and zero anaphora within a text, i.e. children become aware that they can use different forms to convey the same meaning (i.e. reference to a person).

### **Activity 3**

*Material:* Present children with a text where all the characters are boys or girls of the same age and in which the writer has used the form "the boy".

*Activity:* Rewrite the text so that we can understand which character is involved in which activity.

*Objective:* Teach the role that relative clauses, attributive adjectives, or names play in differentiating characters.

### **Activity 4**

*Material:* Present children with a text that relies on the predominant use of deictic expressions of the type "this boy" "that girl"

*Activity:* Rewrite the text by using forms which can help you identify which boy and girl is involved in various activities.

*Objective:* Teach the differences between spoken and written language through the teaching of the differences that the use of deictic pronouns and definite NPs has on text comprehension

## **0.2. Teaching Tellability**

### **Activity 5**

*Material:* Present children with a text that contains a lot of evaluative forms, that is, adjectives, adverbs etc.

*Activity:* Eliminate the adjectives and the adverbs and look at the effects that the use of these forms have on text quality.

*Objective:* Cultivate children's understanding of the way in which text quality is created.

### **Activity 6**

*Material:* Present children with a text that relies on the exclusive use of the I-principle by having no connectives at all.

*Activity:* Look at this text which is devoid of connectives. Add some connectives and examine whether the text sounds better.

*Objective:* Make children understand the effect of information on text quality, even in cases where this information can be easily inferred.

### **Activity 7**

*Material:* Present children with two versions of the same story, one characterized by great use of connectives, the other with fewer connectives.

*Activity:* Examine the two versions and try to see what makes one better than the other.



*Objective:* Make them understand the role of textual norm that gets established within a text in affecting text quality.

### **Activity 8**

*Material:* Present children with a text that is characterized by the use of connectives only.

*Activity:* Substitute some of the connectives with subordinate clauses. Which text is the one that is better?

*Objective:* Make them understand the role that subordinate clause versus connectives have in text quality

## Appendix II

### Transcription Conventions

#### Greek Transliteration

The transliterated texts have a straight correspondence for the written texts; this was chosen because a transliteration which would have been sensitive to phonetic and phonological details would have greatly changed the texts; this practice, if followed, would have led us to correcting orthographical and other mistakes made by the children and thus would have yielded teachers' comments on the cited texts invalid. In summary, the following conventions were adopted:

#### Consonants

d = /δ/

th = /θ/

c = /χ/

ps = /ψ/

ts = /τσ/

x = /ξ/

#### Vowels

a = /α/

e = /ε/

o = /ο/

w = /ω/

i = /ι/

h = /η/

#### Description of some aspects of Greek

Modern Greek (Nea Ellhnika) is a first-language to some 12.000.000 people around the world, 9.000.000 of whom live in the country itself.

Greek is a member of the Indo-European language family, and constitutes a

separate branch of it. Greek language is being attested as early as 1400 B.C. and documented continuously from c.700 B.C. The following discussion describes those aspects of the language that have direct relation to the work undertaken here. For more information, the reader may refer to B.J. Joseph and I. Philippaki-Warbuton (1987). *Modern Greek*. London: Croom Helm

## Noun

Semantico-syntactic functions of noun-phrases are generally marked by means of bound affixes (case-endings) on the nominal which serves as the head of the phrase; modifiers of that noun-phrase, such as articles or adjectives, must be in the same case as the head. Four cases are distinguished: nominative, genitive, accusative and vocative, although such a four-way distinction may not be realized in every noun.

There is a certain amount of case-syncretism evident in MG, such as:

to agori agapaei to koritsi

the+boy N,nom-acc loves-3sg the+girl n,nom-acc

## INFLECTION

### Noun Inflection

#### *Masculine:*

|                       |                        |
|-----------------------|------------------------|
| Nom, sg: -s (andra-s) | Nom, pl: -es (andr-es) |
| gen, sg: -o (andra-)  | Gen, pl: -wn (andr-wn) |
| acc, sg: -o (andra)   | Acc, pl: -es (andr-es) |

#### *Feminine:*

|             |              |
|-------------|--------------|
| Nom, sg: -o | nom, pl: -es |
| gen, sg: -s | gen, pl: -on |
| acc, sg: -o | acc, pl: -es |

#### *Neuter:*

|             |              |
|-------------|--------------|
| Nom, sg: -o | nom, sg: -a  |
| gen, sg: -u | gen, pl: -wn |
| acc, sg: -o | acc, pl: -a  |

## Verb

The subject coding is expressed in the inflectional ending of the verb which also marks, in addition to person and number of subject, tense, voice and mood.

### *Voice*

Modern Greek distinguishes two voices morphologically: active (with ending in (-o) and medio-passive (endings in -omai).

### *Mood*

The Indicative mood makes all tense distinctions. The subjunctive mood is not marked morphologically in the verb form itself but is signalled by the choice of particle (*na*) and a different negative element (*min*)

### *Tense*

*Present tense* The present tense is a combination of imperfective aspect and nonpast tense, e.g. *gráf-o*. It has person-number endings and a special nonperfective stem (marked either by specific stem-formativeness indicating imperfective aspect or by the absence of any formativeness indicating perfective aspect).

|            |                    |
|------------|--------------------|
| 1sg: lino  | 1pl: linume/linome |
| 2sg: linis | 2pl: linete        |
| 3sg: lini  | 3pl: linun(e)      |

### *Past tense*

1. simple past (aorist): this is a perfective past (égrapsa)
2. imperfect: this is an imperfective past (égrafa)

Common characteristics:

1. special past tense person/number endings,
2. antepenultimate stress
3. in disyllabic forms, presence of a prefix known as the "argument", which is generally "e", and in some limited cases "i"

|             |           |
|-------------|-----------|
| 1sg: elina  | eli- s-a  |
| 2sg: elines | eli -s-es |

|                    |                |
|--------------------|----------------|
| 3sg: eline         | eli- s-e       |
| 1pl: lline         | li- s-ame      |
| 2pl: lline         | li-s-ate       |
| 2pl: elinan/linane | éllisan/lisane |

All subordinate clauses in Greek are finite, showing marking for person and number agreement with the subordinate clause grammatical subject. The present participles, with an active form in -ondas and a mediopassive in -meno, provide the only nonfinite adverbial clauses in Greek.

## Samples of Greek Narratives

### 8 year-old Children

#### Picture A

1) Μια μέρα δύο παιδάκια έπεζαν μπάλα μετά η μπάλα πήγε στον πίνακα που ζωγράφιζε η μαμά τους και ο πίνακας έπεσε κάτω έπεσαν και κάτω τα και τη μαμά τους τη γέμισαν η μπογές. Ηστέρα πήγε στο λουτρό να κάνει μπάνιο γιατί τη λέροσαν η μπογές έξω τα πεδιά έβαλαν τον πίνακα στη θέση του και σκούπησαν η μαμά όταν τελίωσε το μπάνιο έβαλε άλλα ρούχα το πεδί της γιά να την εφχαρίστηση την πήγε λουλούδια τα πήρε λουλούδια και τον αγκάλιασε (Agis B., 8 years old)

2) Μια μέρα άνοιξης ήταν δύο παιδιά που έπαιζαν τόπι και η μαμά τους ζωγράφιζε ένα πίνακα. Εκεί που έπαιζα το τόπι, πήγε στον πίνακα σις μαμά στους. Ηστέρα η μαμά τους τους μάλοσε και τους είπε να τα ταχτοπήσουν. Η μαμά τους πήγε μέσα στο μπάνιο κιτάχτηκε στον καθρέφτι και έγινε έξω φρενών. Ηστέρα έκανε ένα μπάνιο γιά να φύγουν η μπογές. Τα παιδιά τα ήχαν σιμαζέψι. Ηστέρα η μαμά τους φώρεσε παρδαλά φόρεμα. Ο φιόστις πήγε σε ένα ανθοπωλίο και της αγόρασε λουλούδια η μαμά εφχαριστιμένη πήρε τα λουλούδια και ήστέρα πήγαν να κάνουν ένα πικνίκ εφχαριστιμένη. (Mara K., 8 years old)

3) Ήταν δύο παιδιά που έπεζαν μπάλα. και το ένα το παιδί την έριξε ψυλά το κοριτσάκι δεν την έθασε και η μπάλα έπεσε στον πίνακα. και η μαμά τους του μάλοσε και την λέροσαν. και μετά μπήκε μέσα στο λουτρό και έκανε μπάνιο. και μετά τα δύο παιδιά μετά τα μάζεψαν και τα έβαλαν στη θέση τους. Και μετά βγίκε απο το λουτρό. και αυτό το παιδάκι την έδωσε λουλούδια. Και η μαμά του τον αγκάλιασε. (Nikos N., 8 years old)

#### Picture B

1) Τα παιδιά ο Γιώργος και η Μαρία είναι πολύ λυχούδες μιá μέρα σκέφτηκαν να φάνε μερέντα με βούτυρο και ψωμί παιδί που ήταν μεγαλύτερο πήγε να πάρει την μερέντα και γλυστράει και πέφτει στα πλακάκια και γήνεται μηκρά μηκρούτσικα κοματάκια. Μετά πήγαν στο δωμάτιο τους και πέξανε όταν ήρθε η μαμά τους ήδε ακαταστασία μπήκε θυμομένη στο δωμάτιω και τους είπε με αυστηρό τρόπο να τα καθαρίσετε τα παιδιά τα καθάρισαν και έμειναν καλά και μεις καλύτερα. (Dimitris A., 8 years old)

2) Μια ανοιξιáτικη μέρα τα δύο παιδιά ο γιάννης και η μαρία ήθελαν να φάνε μερέντα



και ψωμί. ο μεγαλύτερος ο αδερφός άνοιξε το ντουλάπι και πήρε τη μερέντα αλλά η μερέντα του γλύστρησε απο τα χέρια και έσπασε. Μετά πήγαν στο δωμάτιό μας σαν να μην συνέβη τίποτα. Μετά ήρθε η μητέρα τους απο την αγορά. Τι ακαταστασία λέη γρήγορα να πάτε να τα σηγηρίσετε και σιγηρίσανε και τους έδωσε να πάρουν και παγωτό (Eftichia Tz., 8 years old)

3) Μια φορά ήταν δύο παιδιά που είθελαν να φάνε και το παιδί άνηξε το ντουλάπι και το βάζο έπεσε και τα παιδιά πήγαν στο δωμάτιο και έπεζαν. Ύστερα ήρθε η μαμά και είπε τι κάνετε είπε η μαμά γρήγορα να τα μαζέψετε και τα παιδιά τα μάζεψαν και το γλήτοσαν το ξίλο. (Dimitra S., 8 years old)

## 10 year-old Children

### Picture A

#### 1) Μια ιστορία

Μιά φορά δύο παιδιά έπαιζαν μπάλα. Κι ένα άλλο κορίτσι ζωγράφιζε. Σε μία στιγμή η μπάλα έπεσε πάνω στον πίνακα, και τα χρώματα έπεσαν πάνω στο φουστάνι του κοριτσιού. Το κορίτσι θύμωσε και πήγε να τα πει στη μητέρα της. Μετά πήγε να κάνει μπάνιο. Εν το μεταξύ τα παιδιά άρχισαν να ταχτοποιούν όλα τα πράγματα. Όταν το κορίτσι τελείωσε βγήκε έξω και το αγόρι της χάρισε ένα μπουκέτο λουλούδια. Και το κορίτσι συνχόρεσαι τα παιδιά. και έτσι ήταν πάλι αγαπημένα και χαρούμενα. (Nikoleta K., 10 etwn)

2) Μια φορά κι έναν καιρό ο Κώστας, η Άννα και η Ντίνα παίζανε. Η Ντίνα προτίμησε να ζωγραφίσει. Ο Κώστας έριξε την μπάλα επάνω στον πίνακα. Η Ντίνα πήγε μέσα στο μπάνιο και πλύθηκε. Όταν η Ντίνα βγήκε έξω και είδε πως τα είχαν βάλει σε τάξη. Ο Κώστας χάρισε στην Ντίνα ένα μπουκέτο λουλούδια. Η Ντίνα φίλυσε τον Κώστα. (Lambros S., 10 etwn)

3) Ήταν δύο παιδιά που έπεζαν βόλει, Και πίο πέρα ήταν μια γυναίκα που ζωγράφιζε. Κατά λάθος η μπάλα πήγε στον πίνακα, και ο πίνακας έπεσε και λερώθηκε η γυναίκα. Μετά πήγε να πλυθεί. Εξω τα παιδιά έβαζαν στη θέση τους αυτά που είχαν ρίξει κάτω. Η γυναίκα πλήθεικε και ντίθηκε. Μόλις βγήκε η γυναίκα έξω ένας νεαρός της χάρισε λουλούδια. Μετά αγκαλιάστηκαν κι έτσι τέλειωσε η ιστορία μας. (Stavros C..., 10 years old).

### Picture B

1) Μια μέρα σε μία πολυκατοικία η μητέρα της Βάσως και του Γιώργου που ήταν δύο αγαπημένα αδέρφια πήγε για ψώνια. Τότε ο Γιώργος λέει Βάσω τρώμε κανένα γλυκάκι. Η Βάσω συμφώνησε και είτε στο Γιώργο να ανέβει στο ντουλάπι. Τότε ο Γιώργος το ανοίγει και κρατσ! Το βάζω έσπασε. Ο Γιώργος τώρα είναι πολύ στενοχωρημένος. Τότε τα παιδιά πήγαν στο δωμάτιο να παίξουν. Μόλις γύρισε η μητέρα τους απόρισε. Γιατί όταν έφηγε η κουζίνα δεν ήταν σε αυτά τα χάλια. Πήγε στο δωμάτιο και τους είπε να καθαρίσουν την κουζίνα. Τα παιδιά πρόθυμα την καθάρισαν. Τα παιδιά ήταν πολύ ευχαριστημένα που δεν τα χτύπησε η μητέρα τους. (Charilaos K., 10 years old)

2) Κάποτε ήταν δύο αδέρφια ο Νίκος και η Ζωή. Πήγαν στο δωμάτιο της κουζίνας και ο

Νίκος θέλησε να κατεβάσει ένα βάζο με γλυκό. Αλλά καθώς ανέβηκε πάνω στην καρέκλα για να φτάσει το ντουλάπι γλίστริσε το βάζο από τα χέρια του και γέμισε το πάτωμα από το γλυκό. Ψστερα πήγαν στο δωμάτιό τους έβγαλαν τα παιχνίδια και τα σκόρπισαν εδώ και εκεί. Όταν ήρθε η μητέρα τους και είδε την ακαταστασία θύμωσε πολύ. Πήγε μέσα στο δωμάτιο των παιδιών και τους είπε να καθαρίσουν την κουζίνα και το δωμάτιό τους. Όταν τελείωσαν ένιωσαν ευτυχισμένοι που δεν τους χτύπησε η μητέρα τους. (Basilikh K., 10 years old)

### 3) Τα δύο παιδιά στην κουζίνα

Δύο παιδιά ο Νίκος και η λαμπρηνή πήγαν στην κουζίνα. Ο Νίκος πήγε να κατεβάσει κάτι κονσέρβες από το ντουλάπι. Η κονσέρβες ήταν ανοιγμένες και γλίστρισαν απ' τα χέρια του Νίκου και λέροσε το πάτωμα. Ψστερα τα παιδιά ξεκίνησαν για την μικρή αποθήκη που είχαν τα παιχνίδια. Τα κατέβασαν όλα κι άρχισαν να παίζουν ξέγνοιαστοι. Ξέχασα να σας πω πως η μητέρα τους είχε πάει για ψώνια στην αγορά. Όταν γύρισε τα βρήκε όλα κάτω στην κουζίνα. Τους βρήκε στην αποθήκη με τα παιχνίδια. Τους είπε να πάν να συγμρίσουν την κουζίνα. τα παιδιά ευχαριστήθηκαν για τη καλή συμπεριφορά της μητέρας τους και τα παιδιά έμαθαν να μην σκορπών τα πράγματα. (Dimitris K., 10 years old)

## 12 year-old Children

### Picture A

1) Μία φορά ήταν δύο παιδιά ο Γιώργος και η Μαρία. Αυτά τα παιδιά έπαιζαν βόλει μπροστά σε μία ζωγράφο. Εκεί που έπαιζαν βόλει τους φεύγει η μπάλα και πάει απάνω στα χρώματα και τα χρώματα τηνάχτηκαν και έπεσαν απάνω στη ζωγράφο. Μετά η ζωγράφος που την ελεγαν και τη χτίπισα τα παιδιά και τα παιδιά έκλεγαν. Η Καίτη πήγε στο σπίτι της και κοιτάχτηκε στον καθρέπτη. Μόλις είδε ότι άλλες οι μπογιές ήταν επάνω της μπήκε μέσα στην μπανιέρα και έκανε μπάνιο. Την ώρα που έκανε μπάνιο τα παιδιά άρχισαν να σημαλεύουν τα πράγματα που είχαν ρίξει κάτω. Όταν η Καίτη τελείωσε το μπάνιο πήγε έξω και τα βρήκε όλα όπως ήταν στην αρχή. Ο Γιώργος τότε την έδωσε ένα μπουκέτο λουλούδια και την ζήτησε συγγνώμη για όλα αυτά. (Agamemnon M., 12 years old)

2) Μια καλοκαιριάτικη μέρα ο Κώστας και η Άννα παίζανε μπάλα στην αυλή τους. Λίγο πίο πέρα η μητέρα τους ζωγράφιζε. Εκεί που πέζανε η μπάλα ξέφυγε από τα χέρια της Μαρίας και έπεσε στον πίνακα που ζωγράφιζε η μητέρα τους. Τότε έπεσαν τα χρώματα απάνω στη μαμά τους. Τότε η μητέρα τους τους μάλωσε και τους είπε να μην ξαναπαίξουν μπάλα στην αυλή. Μετά η μητέρα τους πήγε στο μπάνιο κοιτάχτηκε στον καθρέπτη και είδε πως ήταν λερωμένη και αποφάσισε να κάνει μπάνιο. Την ώρα που η μαμά τους έκανε μπάνιο ο Κώστας και η Άννα άρχισαν να σημαλεύουν τα πράγματα. Μόλις η μαμά τους τελείωσε το μπάνιο και βγήκε έξω ο Κώστας της πρόσφερε λουλούδια. Η μητέρα τους τους ευχαρίστησε για τα λουλούδια και τους αγκάλιασε. (Basilis B., 12 years old)

3) Μια μέρα ο Νίκος και η Μαρία παίζανε με την μπάλα στον κήπο. Η μεγαλύτερη αδερφή τους η Ειρήνη καθόνταν δίπλα τους και ζωγράφιζε. Ο Νίκος χωρίς να θέλει ρίχνει τη μπάλα στον πίνακα της Ειρήνης. Τότε πέφτει κάτω ο πίνακας και οι μπογιές στο φόρεμα της Ειρήνης. Η Ειρήνη θύμωσε και μάλωσε τα δύο παιδιά. μετά από αυτά η Ειρήνη πήγε να αλλάξει φόρεμα και να κάνει μπάνιο. Στο μεταξύ τα δύο παιδιά καθαρίζανε τον κήπο. Αφού η Ειρήνη τελείωσε το μπάνιο φόρεσε ένα άλλο φόρεμα και πήγε έξω στον κήπο. Βγαίνοντας έξω ο Νίκος της πρόσφερε λουλούδια. Τότε η Ειρήνη αγκάλιασε το Νίκο και του είπε ότι δεν πειράζει. Έτσι τα δύο παιδιά συνέχισαν το παιχνίδι και η Ειρήνη τη ζωγραφική. (QanashV P., 12 years old)

### Picture B

1) Μια φορά ήταν δύο παιδιά η Βάσω και ο Γιώργος. Μία μέρα τα δύο παιδιά έπαιζαν

στο δωμάτιό τους πήγαν στην κουζίνα να φάνε. Ο Γιώργος σκέφτηκε ότι μέσα σ' ένα ντουλάπι υπήρχε ένα βάζο γεμάτο γλυκό. Αυτός είπε τη γνώμη του στη Βάσω και η Βάσω δέχτηκε να φάνε λίγο γλυκό. Ο Γιώργος πήγε να κατεβάσει το βάζο από το ντουλάπι αλλά χωρίς να θέλει έριξε κάτω το βάζο με το γλυκό. Το βάζο έσπασε και ο δυστυχισμένος Γιώργος άρχισε να κλαίει. Η Βάσω τον είπε να μην κλαίει, γιατί δεν θα τους μάλωνε η μητέρα τους. Μετά τα δύο παιδιά πήγαν να παίξουν στο δωμάτιό τους. Τα παιδιά έπαιζαν και διάβαζαν πολλές ώρες χωρίς να μαλώνουν. Σε λίγο έφτασε και η μητέρα των δύο παιδιών. Πρώτα-πρώτα η μητέρα από τα παιδιά πήγε στην κουζίνα. Και μόλις είδε το βάζο κάτω, κατάλαβε αμέσως ότι τα παιδιά έριξαν το βάζο κάτω γιατί κανένας άλλος δεν υπήρχε στο σπίτι. Τότε η μητέρα πήγε μέσα στο δωμάτιο που έπαιζαν τα παιδιά και τα είπε να πάνε αμέσως να μαζέψουν το γλυκό από κάτω. Η Βάσω και ο Γιώργος έκαναν ότι τους είπε η μητέρα τους. Η Βάσω πήρε τη σκούπα γιά να μαζέψει τα γυαλιά και ο Γιώργος πήρε ένα πανί για να μαζέψει το γλυκό. Ετσι το πάτωμα έλαμπε. Και από τότε ο Γιώργος και η Βάσω πρόσεχαν και έτσι τα δύο παιδιά ποτέ δεν είχαν κάνει ζημιά. (Frosz Tz., 12 years old)

2) Μια μέρα ο Γιαννάκης καθώς έπεζε στην αυλή πείνασε. Δεν ήξερε όμως που βρισκόταν οι κονσέρβες γι' αυτό φώναξε την αδερφή του τη Ρηνιώ να του δείξει που είναι. Η Ρηνιώ οδήγησε το Γιαννάκη στην κουζίνα και του έδειξε το ντουλάπι στο οποίο βρισκόταν οι κονσέρβες. Ο Γιαννάκης αμέσως προσπάθησε να πάρει τις κονσέρβες. Στην προσπάθεια του όμως έριξε μερικές κονσέρβες από το ντουλάπι και γέμισε το πάτωμα. Ο Γιαννάκης έκλαιγε απαρηγόρητα. Η Ρηνιώ για να τον κάνει να ξεχάσει αυτό που έκανε τον πήρε στο δωμάτιό τους για να παίξουν. Ο Γιαννάκης επειδή δεν είχε όρεξη για παιχνίδι κάθησε στην πολυθρόνα και διάβασε ένα βιβλίο. Όταν γύρισε η μαμά τους από τα ψώνια και είδε το πάτωμα της κουζίνας λερωμένο κατάλαβε αμέσως ποιός το έκανε. Ετρεξε στα παιδιά και τους είπε αμέσως να μαζέψουν τις κονσέρβες που είχαν ρίξει. Τα παιδιά έτρεξαν αμέσως και μάζεψαν ότι είχαν ρίξει στο πάτωμα. Ύστερα χαρούμενα πολύ που βοήθησαν τη μητέρα τους συνέχισαν το παιχνίδι τους. (Apostolis Ts., 12 years old)

## Adults

### Picture A

1) Είναι απόγευμα και τα δύο αδερφάκια ο Κώστας και η Μαρία βγήκαν έξω στο δρόμο να παίξουν με την καινούργια μπάλα που τους δώρισε ο πατέρας τους. Εκεί κοντά βρίσκεται και η Χριστίνα που σπουδάζει ζωγραφική και αυτή τη στιγμή ήταν κι αυτή έξω και ζωγράφιζε. Τα δύο παιδιά παρασυρόμενα από το παιχνίδι δεν πρόσεξαν τη Χριστίνα που ζωγράφιζε και μία απροσεξία τους έριξε τη μπάλα πάνω στα χρώματα και στη ζωγραφιά με αποτέλεσμα η Χριστίνα να λερωθεί και τα εργαλεία της δουλειάς της να πέσουν στο χώμα. Αγανακτησμένη η Χριστίνα πηγαίνει στο σπίτι να πλυθεί και να αλλάξει ρούχα. Εν τω μεταξύ τα δύο παιδιά στενοχωρημένα από την απροσεξία τους προσπαθούν να επανορθώσουν ταχτοποιώντας τα πράγματα της Χριστίνας και σκουπίζοντας τις μπογιές που έπεσαν κάτω. Η Χριστίνα αφού πλύθηκε και άλλαξε βγαίνει έξω όπου την περιμένει μία έκπληξη. Τα παιδιά την υποδέχονται προσφέροντας της ένα μπουκέτο ωραία λουλούδια γιά να ξεθυμάνει και να τα συγχωρήσει. Η Χριστίνα βλέποντας αυτή την ενέργεια των παιδιών ενθουσιάζεται ξεχνά το θυμό της και συγκινημένη αγκαλιάζει τα παιδιά. (Paraskevi S., 21 years-old)

2) Η Σουβλίτσα και ο Κλούβιος: Δυό ατίθασα παιδιά. Βρέ τα διαολάκια δεν βλέπουν την Γιολάντα ποψυ ζωγραφίζει εκεί βρήκαν να παίζουν;

Και να που σε μιά φάση που τους ξεφεύγει η μπάλα και πάει ίσα στο καβαλέτο της Γιολάντας. Τα έχουν κάνει όλα λίκπα λεκιάζοντας την Γιολάντα, ρίχνουν το καβαλέτο με την ακουαρέλα και τις μπογιές. Καταλαβαίνοντας το τι έκαναν κάθονται κάτω και ακούν τις άγριες φωνές της Γιολάντας που δίκαια η κακομοίρα φωνάζει.

Μετά απ αυτό η Γιολάντα πάει στο μπάνιο και βγάζοντας τα λεκιασμένα ρούχα της κάνει μπάνιο για να ξεβρωμίσει.

Τα παιδιά καταλαβαίνοντας το τι έχουν κάνει άρχισαν να τακτοποιούν τα όσα πριν λίγο είχαν σκορπίσει. Τελειώνοντας η Γιολάντα το μπάνιο της βγαίνει πάλι για να τακτοποιήσει τα πραγματά της. Αλλά.–

Πηγαίνοντας έξω τα βρίσκει όλα όπως ήταν πρώτα και τα παιδιά για να επανορθώσουν για τα όσα έχουν κάνει προσφέρουν στη Γιολάντα λουλούδια.

Η Γιολάντα ικανοποιημένη από την συμπεριφορά των παιδιών τα αγκαλιάζει τα φιλάει και φυσικά τα συγχωρεί. (Achilleas K., adult)



3) Είναι μιά όμορφη ανοιξιιάτικη μερα; τρεις φίλοι, ένα αγόρι και ένα κορίτσι περιπου συνομηλικά (το ένα κορίτσι μεγαλύτερο απο το άλλο και στην ίδια ηλικία περιπου με το αγόρι) απολαμβάνουν τον ήλιο ο καθενας με τον τροπο του. Το μεγαλύτερο κορίτσι ζωγραφίζει, ενώ τα δυο άλλα παιδιά παίζουν με μια μπάλα. Ξαφνικά ρίχνει το αγόρι την μπάλα στην κοπελίτσα, εκείνη δεν προλαβαίνει να την πιάσει και το κακό γίνεται. η μπάλα πέφτει με δύναμη πάνω στο καβαλέτο που ζωγραφίζει η φίλη τους, παρασύροντας το κάτω μαζί με τα χρώματα. Η ζωγραφιά βέβαια ευτυχώς δεν χάλασε, αλλά το κορίτσι λερώθηκε με τα χρώματα που πετάχτηκαν πάνω της. Μετά από αυτή την ατυχία τα δύο παιδιά που έκαναν τη ζημιιά άθελά τους, κάθονται, το ένα δίπλα στο άλλο φανερά μετανιωμένα και στεναχωρημένα νιώθοντας την ενοχή τους. Το μεγάλο κορίτσι δε, φαίνεται να έχει θυμώσει, γιατί τους κοιτά με ένα τρόπο που δείχνει ότι είναι εκνευρισμένη. Στη συνέχεια η άτυχη ζωγράφος πάει στο μπάνιο, όπου λούζει τα μαλλιά της που γέμισαν χρώματα, πλένεται και φορά ένα καθαρό φόρεμα. Εν τω μεταξύ την ώρα που το κορίτσι κάνει μπάνιο, τα άλλα δύο παιδιά που έκαναν τη ζημιιά ταχτοποιούν πάλι τα πράγματα. Το αγόρι ξαναβάζει το καβαλέτο στη θέση του και η μικρη σκουπίζει τα χρώματα που χύθηκαν. Ακόμη τα δύο παιδιά σκέφτηκαν και κάτι πολύ όμορφο; μάζεψαν λίγα λουλούδια που τα πρόσφερε το αγόρι στο κορίτσι μόλις εκείνο βγήκε απο το μπάνιο. Έτσι ζητούν να τους συγχωρήσει για την ζημιιά, κάνοντας της ταυτόχρονα και μία ωραία έκπληξη. Το μεγάλο κορίτσι ευχαριστημένο απο την συμπεριφορά των φίλων της αγκαλιάζει το αγόρι, ενώ το μικρότερο κορίτσι παρακολουθεί την σκηνή ευχαριστημένο.

Βλέπουμε λοιπόν οτι πολλές φορές όταν κάνουμε μιά ζημιιά μπορούμε και πρέπει να επανορθώνουμε, με κάποιο τρόπο; είτε δείχνοντας στον άλλο ότι πραγματικά μετανιώσαμε γι αυτό που έγινε ζητώντας του συγνώμη, είτε φροντίζοντας να αποκαταστήσουμε τη ζημιιά στο βαθμό βέβαια που μπορεί να γίνει. (Christina, M., 23 years old)

#### *Picture B*

1) Δύο αδελφάκια –αγόρι και κορίτσι– μπήκανε στην κουζίνα του σπιτιού τους με την προτροπή του αγοριού για να φάνε γλυκό από ένα βάζο που βρισκότανε σ ένα κάπως ψηλό ντουλάπι για το ύψος τους. Κατόπιν αφού το αγόρι άνοιξε το ντουλάπι, προσπάθησε να φθάση το συγκεκριμένο βάζο, πλην όμως επειδή αυτό ήταν ψηλά για το μπόι του, τούφυγε από τα χέρια και πέφτοντας κάτω έσπασε.

Βλέποντας τα αδελφάκια τη ζημιιά που έγινε, το μεν αγόρι έβαλε τα κλάμματα το δε κοριτσάκι έμεινε έκπληκτο και σαστισμένο. Μιά πονηρή σκέψη πέρασε απ το μυαλό τους και αφήνοντας το σπασμένο βάζο πήγαν στο δωμάτιο τους και έπαιζαν με τα παιχνίδια τους αμέριμνα. Κάποτε μπήκε η μητέρα τους στην κουζίνα είδε τη ζημιιά και αφού κατάλαβε τι έγινε πήγε στο δωμάτιο τους και τους εξήγησε με κάπως αυστηρό ύφος ότι έπρεπε να συγυρίσουν αυτά τα ίδια την κουζίνα απο τα σπασμένα.

Τ αδελφάκια, αφού άφησαν στη μέση το παιχνίδι τους, σκουπίσανε την κουζίνα και όλα επανήλθαν στην κατάσταση την ομαλή που επικρατούσε πριν γινή η ζημιά. (Christos L., 39 years old)

2) Δύο παιδάκια εισέρχονται στην κουζίνα και καθώς προσπαθούν να κατεβάσουν κάτι για να φάνε, εξαντλημένα απο το παιχνίδι που προηγήθηκε, πέφτουν απο το ντουλάπι ορισμένα κουτιά. Το πάτωμα λερώθηκε και τα κουτιά μένουν σκορπισμένα κάτω.

Τα δύο παιδιά μπαίνοντας στο δωμάτιό τους συνεχίζουν να παίζουν και να διαβάζουν ιστορίες για μακρινές Ηπείρους και μυθικούς ήρωες ενώ η μητέρα τους μπαίνοντας στην κουζίνα βλέπει την κατάσταση που επικρατεί.

Φανερά εκνευρισμένη μπήκε στο παιδικό δωμάτιο διατάζοντας τα παιδιά να καθαρίσουν το πάτωμα και να μαζέψουν τα πεσμένα κουτιά, και έτσι έγινε. Σε λίγο όλα ήταν στη θέση τους κάνοντας τα παιδιά χαρούμενα για το καλό τέλος που πήρε η άτυχη στιγμή που προηγήθηκε. (Giannis A., 21 years old)

3) Μια μέρα ένα αγόρι κι ένα κορίτσι συναντήθηκαν στο δρόμο και το αγόρι οδήγησε τη φίλη του στο σπίτι του για να παίξουν. Μπαίνοντας στο σπίτι πέρασαν απ την κουζίνα και το αγόρι προθυμοποιήθηκε να της προσφέρει λίγο γλυκό. Ανοίγοντας το ντουλάπι απο την κουζίνα δεν πρόσεξε και η απροσεξία του αυτή είχε σαν αποτέλεσμα να πέσουν ορισμένα βάζα απο το ντουλάπι στο πάτωμα. Η ζημιά που δημιουργήθηκε προκάλεσε λύπη στο αγόρι το οποίο άρχισε να κλαίει. Μετά το περιστατικό αυτό το αγόρι οδήγησε τη φίλη του στο δωμάτιό του στο οποίο υπήρχαν τα παιχνίδια του. Στη συνέχεια έδωσε τα παιχνίδια του στη φίλη του με τα οποία αυτή άρχισε να παίζει ενώ αυτός άρχισε να διαβάζει ένα βιβλίο για να ηρεμήσει.

Μπαίνοντας η μητέρα του στην κουζίνα διαπίστωσε με θυμό τη ζημιά που είχα γίνει. Στη συνέχεια η μητέρα πήγε στο δωμάτιο του γού της ζητώντας εξηγήσεις για τα αίτια της ζημιάς.

Οι δύο φίλοι μετά τα παράπονα της μητέρας επέστρεψαν στην κουζίνα κι άρχισαν να συγυρίζουν το πάτωμα το οποίο είχαν λερώσει και άρχισαν να σφουγγαρίζουν και να σκουπίζουν. Αφού τελείωσαν το καθάρισμα αισθάνθηκαν χαρούμενοι. (Dimitris, K.P., 22 years old)

## Oral Texts in Greek

### Example (3)

Χθές πήγα στη Γιάννα έτση βόλτα κάθισα λίγο ήτανε και η Βάσω μιλήσαμε λίγο αλλά διάβαζε το Μανώλη την ώρα που έφευγα στην εξώπορτα σταμάτησε μια κούρσα. Στάσου λέει η Γιάννα να ηδής το γαμπρό της Βάσως. κατέβηκε είπε ένα γειά και πήγε επάνω. Δεν με έκανε εντύπωση λεπτός κοντός. περίπου σαν τον Χρίστο της Δήμητρας. ίσια με την Βάσω είναι στα χρόνια αλλά δεν δείχνει ούτε 20. τι δουλειά κάνει ρώτησα. έκανε τα χαρτιά μήπως μπορέσει και μπει στην τράπεζα η σε άλλη δουλειά τώρα βοηθάει στο μαγαζί σουβλάκια. βγάζουν πολλά λεφτά λέει η Γιάννα αλλά θέλει να πηγαίνει σε καμιά θέση. ακόμα λεφτά να μην είχε τα έξοδα που θα έχει η Βάσω. πάντως για πρώτη φορά που τον είδα δεν μου άρεσε. όταν τον ξαναβλέψεις τον συνιθίζεις. θα διορθώσουν το σπίτι και ίσως απαβωνιαστούν αυτά υπέρ γαμπρού. Μαδούχεν

### Example (4)

άντε λέει η γιαγιά να τον ιδώ και εγώ να νην πεθάνω και δεν θα τον ιδώ. Εάν θέλεις να τον ιδείς γιαγιά να τον φέρω καμιά βραδιά. μιά βραδιά ήταν εδώ στη Δήμητρα αλλά δεν πήρα είδηση. ..Αλλά όπως έμαθα δεν είναι το σπίτι το πρόβλημα. δεν θέλει η Γιάννα που τον βρήκες χωρίς δουλειά δεν μπορούσες να βρεις έναν με δουλειά καταλαβάνεις από τη θεία πόσα θα τον λέει. Η Βάσω πηγαίνει αυτός έρχεται αυτοί δεν θέλουνε Θεός βοηθός

### Example (5)

Η Βάσω εδώ. Ο γαμπρός βολεύτηκε. Βρήκε δουλειά στην αεροπορία

### Example (29)

M: κυρία εγώ μία φορά που πήγα  
στην Ουγγαρία πήγα κάτ απ το Δούναβη

M: ου ωραία που είναι όπου πας μπροστά το

Δούναβη πήγαμε και σε μία εξοχική  
βίλα εκεί που είναι η λίμνη  
Μπάλατον

Φ: μόνοι σας πήγατε;

M: όχι μαζί με τον Τίμπορ και την Τζούλια  
μας πήγαν στη νονά του Τίμπορ και κει  
πέρα ήταν η λίμνη Μπάλατον α  
νάχει νάχει εκεί πέρα μία  
μεγάλη αυλή και νάχει συνέχεια  
πρασινάδα και να βλέπεις συνέχεια  
βίλες ναι ε το βράδυ μας έφαγαν  
τα κουνούπια[ ]

Φ: < ναι; γέλια >

M: απ τη λίμνη χμ

Φ: καλά γιατί είσαστε ακόμη έξω;  
δεν χτύπησε ακόμη μέσα; τόσο  
μεγάλο είναι το διάλειμμα;

X: το πρώτο διάλειμμα είναι μισή  
ώρα είκοσι λεπτά κάπου εκεί

M: τώρα πρέπει

X: καλοπερνάμε

M: κυρία να σας πω ο αδερ α μπα η μαμά μου  
πήρε ένα ωραίο σερβίτσιο από  
την Ουγγαρία χειροποίητο

X: εμένα μ έχει πέσει το κοκαλάκι

M: εμένα μου πήρε μιά χειροποίητη  
μπλούζα ο μπαμπάς

X: α νάτο τι έχω το βρήκα

M: ο μπαμπάς μιά χειροποίητη μπλούζα και  
τη μαμά πήγε και σε τσιγγάνους ο  
μπαμπάς μου

Φ: χμ

M: εμένα μ αρέσει πάρα πολύ η  
Ουγγαρία πάντως

X: κι η Βουλγαρία είναι ωραία και  
ιδιαίτερα το Πα(μ)πόροβο η Σόφια έχει  
συνέχεια καυσάερια αλλά δεν μπορώ δεν  
μπορώ να πώ ότι δεν είναι ωραία  
είναι πολύ ωραία η Σόφια έχει  
ένα ξενοδοχείο που μόλις πηγαίνεις  
μπροστά ανοίγουνε μόνες τους οι πόρτες  
είναι ηλεκτρικές

Φ: ναι ναι είναι αυτόματες έτσι είναι  
και στο αεροδρόμιο

### Example (30)

B: όταν είναι το χειμώνα εκεί  
πέρα στο χωριό τους διαβάζει τους  
προσέχει αλλά το καλοκαίρι ας πούμε  
τα παιδιά αυτά είναι με τον παπού τους  
και τη γιαγιά τους και μιλάνε ας πούμε  
κάπως διαφορετικά

Φ: τους μιλάει χωριάτικα

B: πάρα πολύ χωριάτικα ας πούμε μία  
λέξη φτιάχνουν τώρα ένα σπίτι  
στο Μορφοχώρι και μου το έδειξε η ξαδέρφη  
μου τρίτη τάξη πάει είναι δύο  
χρόνια μικρότερη από μένα και μου λέει  
αυτό το

Δ: < γέλιο >

B: δωμάτιο είναι τσ Ρούλας αυτό  
είναι τ Γιάνν ο αυτό είναι  
δκό μ

B: Δικό μου βρε πες. Δκό μ επιμένει  
και παίζει και ρόλο και με ποιόν  
μένουν τα παιδιά η

Φ: ναι ναι

B: η θεία μου η Ξανθούλα τη λένε Ξανθούλα  
τη μαμά τους και ο θεός Νίκος ο  
άντρας της μιλάνε πίο καλά  
και τους μαθαίνουνε όταν είναι κει πέρα  
τους μαθαίνουνε να μιλάνε αλλά αυτά  
μένουν τον περισσότερο καιρό με τη  
γιαγιά τους και μετά..

.....  
Φ: και η δασκάλα παίζει σημαντικό ρόλο  
αλλά περισσότερο το πόσο σας βοηθά  
η μητέρα σας γιατί η δασκάλα έχει  
τριάντα τόσα παιδιά έχει δέκα  
λεπτά για στην τάξη για να σας σχολιάσει  
τις εκθέσεις και υπάρχουν άλλα παιδιά  
που δεν προσέχουν άλλα...κάτι συμβένει  
θα πρέπει να παίρνετε κάποια πράγματα  
που λέει η δασκάλα και στη συνέχεια να  
πάτε στο σπίτι να τα συζητάτε ..

Example (33)

M: άμα δεν καταλαβαίνουμε τίποτα τον ρωτάμε  
και λέει ε αυτό πρέπει να το γράψεις  
έτσι αυτό είναι λάθος και άμα  
θέλουμε να ρωτήσουμε σε καμία λέξη τι  
είναι αυτό και τι ο ρωτάμε και  
μας λέει

Φ: αυτό το λέει στους καλούς μαθητές  
ή σε όλους τους μαθητές;

M: ποιό

Φ: βοηθάει περισσότερο τους καλούς  
μαθητές

Γ: ποιόν θα απαντήσει σε σένα

Φ: πες μου εναν κακό μαθητή

M: ο Κοκκινούλης α να σας πω μερικά παιδιά  
απο την τάξη μας δεν έχουν ακόμα μάθει  
να γράφουν το είναι το ί παίρνω  
παράδειγμα τον Κοκκινούλη άμα ρωτήσει  
ο Κοκκινούλης το είναι κύριε τι ι  
θέλει ο κύριος θα του πει ε βρε Κοκκινούλη  
δεν ξέρεις αυτό δεν θα τον απαντήσει ο  
κύριος θα σηκώσουν οι μαθητές τα χέρια  
εγώ, η Χριστίνα, η Νικολέττα όλα τα  
παιδιά και θα πει θα πει ο κύριος εμάς ε  
βρε παιδιά το πανεύκολο δεν ξέρει;  
αφήστε το να το βρει μόνος του έτσι θα μας  
πει

Example (34)

F: Όταν τελειώσεις την έκθεση την  
ξαναδιαβάζεις για να δεις αν είναι σωστή;

Γ: ναι αν είναι σωστή και για τους τόνους  
πάλι

M: και γω

Γ: πιο πολύ αν είναι σωστή

M: εγώ να έχω βάλει

Γ: το πολύ-πολύ άμα δεν έχε γράψει  
τους τόνους να μου το φέρει πίσω η  
κυρία και να μου πει Γιώργο αυτό

M: εγώ αν δηλαδή έχω βάλει

Γ: την πρόταση όμως δεν μας την στέλνει



πίσω

M: αν έχω βάλει το γλυκό βλυκό  
δηλαδή αν έχω βάλει ένα άλλο  
γράμμα μπροστά αυτά τα κάνω πάντα  
δηλαδή μία φορά είχα κάνει  
ένα τέτοιο λάθος και λέει βρε Μαρα  
<γέλιο> τι είναι αυτό τι γράφεις  
εδώ πέρα λέω γλυκό γράφω  
τι είναι αυτό το ξαναδιαβάζω ε  
ξαναδιαβάζω αυτή τη λέξη να δω αν την  
έχω σωστά

#### Example (36)

D: Ο Αχιλλέας ε τα συζητάει όλα με τη  
μαμά του και μετά μας λέει πως  
τελείωσε πρώτος όλα όλα όλα  
και τον λέμε Αχιλλέα τα συζητήσεις με τη  
μητέρα σου όχι μας λέει αλλά  
γιά να μην ακούγονται τα συζητάν στις 12  
η ώρα το βράδυ κι έτσι

B: που ξέρεις; μπορεί όμως και να μην τα  
συζητάνε αλλά να του είρθε μία  
ιδέα όχι και στις 12 η ώρα

Δ: ναι να ναι αλλά όχι τόσο γρήγορα να  
τελειώνει πρώτος σε δέκα λεπτά  
όχι σε πέντε λεπτά αυτός  
είναι έτοιμος πότε τα σκέφτεται;

Φ: αν γίνεται συνέχεια, γίνεται συνέχεια  
ε;

Δ: ναι

B: μερικές φορές ξέρουμε ότι τον  
διαβάζει η μαμά του τον Αχιλλέα  
πάντα κι ίσως να συζητάει το  
παρακάτω μάθημα αλλά όχι και στις  
δώδεκα η ώρα γιατί στις δώδεκα η  
ώρα μετά το πρωί δεν θα μπορεί  
να σηκωθεί κι εγώ κοιμάμαι κοιμάμαι  
το μεσημέρι κοιμάμαι το βράδυ στις  
δώδεκα η στις μία η ώρα και το πρωί  
πάλι δεν μπορώ να σηκωθώ κοιμάμαι με  
ξυπνάει η γιαγιά με γαργαλάει με  
τσιμπάει τη μύτη και πάλι δεν μπορώ  
να σηκωθώ.

#### Example(37)

M: καλά τη μία γέννα θα τη στοιχίζω  
εκατό χιλιάδες

Φ: αλήθεια; κι άμα δεν έχει να πληρώσει η  
μαμά κι είναι φτωχή;

M: ε τότε δωρεάν εγώ τότε θα την  
κατεβάζω την τιμή θα την παίρνω  
τζάμπα χωρίς λεφτά

X: εσύ θα πλουτίσεις άμα είναι  
φτωχοί

M: ναι αλλά άμα είναι καμμία  
πλούσια θα τη πω δεν γίνεται κυρία  
μου ένα δεκάρικο όχι ένα  
δεκάρικο δύο χιλιάρικά η γέννα χμ.  
μάλιστα

X: καλά δύο χιλιάδες θα την πάρεις  
την γέννα αφού ένα μπουφάν  
κάνει δέκα χιλιάρικά

Φ: < γέλιο >

#### Example(38)

P.: μ είπι η δασκάλα λέει όταν  
γράφουν εκθέσεις τα παιδιά τα  
βάζω λέει και διαβάζουνε τρεις  
τέσσερις καλές εκθέσεις και  
διαβάζουνε τρεις τέσσερις όχι  
καλές εκθέσεις

Φ: ναι γιά να καταλάβουν..

P: και κρίνουν μόνα τα τα παιδιά και  
λένε ότι αυτή η έκθεση είναι  
του Αχιλλέα αυτή η έκθεση είναι  
του Γιώργου αυτή η έκθεση του  
Χαρίλαου μόνα τους

Φ: ναι

P: ξέρουν ότι αυτή είναι του  
Αχιλλέα

Αχ.: σήμερα διάβασε της Γεωργίας γιά τα  
αεροπλάνα

Φ: ποιά Γεωργία

Αχ.: της Γεωργίας της Κατηγάννης

P: δεν είναι καλή αυτή μαθήτριά;

B: του Παπαλαΐου

Aχ.: μία ξανθή δεν την ξέρεις

Θ: ποιός;

B: του Παπαλαΐου την αγγόνα

P: σένα τη δικιά σ τη διάβασε;

Θ: λες του Παπαλαΐου του Κότσιου

P: του Γιώργου; τη διάβασε του Γιώργου;  
του Χαρίλαου;

Aχ.: δεν ξέρω

P: δεν ξέρουν διαβάζει εκθέσεις δεν τους  
λέει ονόματα κατάλαβες κάθε  
ένας να βρει την έκθεσή του

P: τη Φίλλια εγώ την έγραφα εγώ την  
έγραφα εκθέσεις τη Φίλλια

# Appendix III

## Data and Analytic Method: A Summary

### 1. Data

Three sets of data are used in this work:

1. narrative texts

oral narratives

written narratives

picture-  
based  
narratives

narratives written  
on two free  
topics

2. Readers' comments on the picture-based written texts collected soon after the collection of the picture-based stories

3. Children's own comments on the picture-based texts; the responses were collected two years after the collection of the picture-based stories.

#### 1.1. Procedures used for the Collection of the Data

1) Narratives:

a) Oral Narratives

*Amount of Data:*

10 conversations tape-recorded,  
9 stories analysed from 4 conversations.

The oral narratives were told in the course of conversations I had with the children. The conversations were tape-recorded in my house and the children came in pairs

(with their brother/sister or a friend). There were two exceptions; a boy, a nephew of mine, was tape-recorded once alone and a second time with his mother, grandmother and relatives (see excerpt (38)). Another boy, George, who had already been tape-recorded with his sister (George and Mara, see excerpts (33), (34), (35)), came back later bringing two friends of his (Kostas1 and Kostas2, see excerpt (60)), stayed throughout and took part in this conversation as well. Mara was also tape-recorded at school when conversing with her friend Christina (see excerpts (29) and (37)). Both girls knew they were being tape-recorded. The average length of each conversation was 2 hours and covered a number of topics. In this thesis, I analysed 9 stories told in the course of the conversation; these 9 stories come from 4 conversations (see Chapter 3) while at the same time I use comments narrators made in the course of the discussion to provide additional support to claims I make throughout this work regarding "appropriate" text-building strategies in Greek culture (such comments are cited on pages 89, 92-93).

**b) Written Narrative Texts:**

*Amount of Data:* 476 texts

- a) 238 stories based on two picture-sequences (119 from each picture)
- b) 238 stories on two free topics: "a day I went to school unprepared" and "something naughty I have done" (119 from each topic)

Each subject wrote 4 narrative texts (2 picture-based and 2 on free topics) as follows:

| <i>Age-Group</i> | <i>Number of children</i> |                | <i>Number of Stories</i> |
|------------------|---------------------------|----------------|--------------------------|
| 8                | 23 children               | 4 stories each | 92                       |
| 10               | 31 children               | 4 stories each | 124                      |
| 12               | 34 children               | 4 stories each | 136                      |
| Adults           | 31                        | 4 stories each | 124                      |
| <hr/>            |                           |                |                          |
| Total            | 119 subjects              | 4 stories each | 476                      |

**2) Readers' Responses** (collected the same time with the written texts)

*Amount of Data:* 16 readers judged 16 texts

Readers' responses were obtained from 16 readers and are used to illustrate the features the Greek society and school system in particular regards as constitutive of a good narrative. The readers were teachers (12 readers) or people working closely with children (2 social workers working with children with learning

difficulties) or people who had University-education (2 cases). The readers were asked to judge 16 texts, 8 stories based on picture A and 8 on picture B. 4 texts were taken from each age-group, two from each picture. The stories were chosen in a way that illustrated particular text-strategies, i.e. complete absence of connectives, use of subordinate clauses, use of evaluative forms.

In addition, the teachers of the children were eager to discuss with me the performance and the problems of their pupils. Apart from participant-observation notes I took on the basis of their comments, the teacher of the 12 year-old children judged in detail 10 texts written by the 12 year-old children. The discussion which took place at my house lasted four hours, covered a number of different topics (children's problems in writing texts, differences in his versus this generation, problems caused by the use of dialect etc.) and was tape-recorded. (Excerpts of this discussion are to be found on pages 93-94, and in chapter 7).

This set of data is used to provide qualitative evidence; they help me pinpoint the features the school as a social mechanism regards important for the children to acquire in a specific discourse type. In this way, I avoid criticisms regarding the subjectivity of my own judgements since I do not offer my own interpretation as the only correct interpretation.

**3) Children's Responses** (collected two years after the collection of the written stories).

*Amount of Data:*

| <i>Age-Group</i>                                                          | <i>Number of Children</i> | <i>Number of Comments</i> |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| 8 (10 year-olds<br>at the time when<br>their responses<br>were collected) | 23 4 stories judged       | 92                        |
| 10 (12 year-olds<br>when their<br>responses were<br>collected)            | 34 4 stories judged       | 136                       |

No responses were obtained by the 12 year-old children because they had left primary school.

Children's responses were obtained two years after the collection of the data. I myself wrote on the blackboard two stories the children had written two years before and asked them to judge the two texts and write their comments on a piece of paper. The children were asked to judge 8 stories, which were presented in pairs. For instance, the children were presented with two texts which were characterized



by two contrastive patterns of text-structuring, i.e. one text characterized by use of connectives, the other by complete absence of connectives, were asked to write their comments on a piece of paper and, if possible, justify them.

On the basis of this set of data, I isolated the influence of schooling processes in the period of the two years and traced children's gradual internalization of norms in a specific discourse-type, the narrative, in a specific culture, Greek; the features the children gradually come to acquire as constitutive of a cohesive text and a good narrative.

## **2. Data analysis**

### **2.1. Quantitative analysis**

#### **Aim of the analysis:**

*General Questions:* Are there age-specific differences in style? What are the linguistic forms that give rise to differences in textual style? How do children across age-groups balance different informational requirements and decide on the amount of information to give to the reader?

*Specific Questions:* Patterns of event connectivity in texts: how do children refer and link events within their texts?

#### **Set of Data analysed:**

To answer these questions, the picture-based stories (238 stories) are subjected to quantitative analyses and statistical tests. It would have been impossible to analyse patterns of language use if the content of the stories was not restricted. To this end, since the content was controlled through the use of pictures, it was possible to see the forms children across age-groups used to encode the specific sequence of events they were presented with.

#### **Measurements:**

Two kinds of quantitative measurements are performed on the picture-based stories:

1) coding of verbs, finite, non-finite, in terms of two procedures:

- a) type of clauses: main clauses  
                                    subordinate clauses  
                                    participles
- b) type of tense: past  
                                    present tense (see Figure 1, page 44)

2) coding of the forms that link utterances together.

The forms linking each clause to its next were isolated, counted and subjected to statistical tests (see figure 2, page 45).

### **Problems in performing the statistical tests:**

Since the texts written by the children differ in terms of length (the older children wrote increasingly longer texts), statistical analyses could not be performed on the raw number of forms under examination. The percentages of the forms under consideration were obtained in the following way: The number of subordinate clauses, participles, connectives, discourse bracketing devices, present and past tense found in a given text was divided by the total number of finite verbs in the whole text to obtain the percentage. For instance, for child A, the subordinate clauses he used (2) was divided by the number of finite verbs (30) and the percentage was obtained. It was these percentages that were subsequently subjected to statistical tests.

**Types of Tests Used:** The Mann-Whitney test and the Wilcoxon matched-pairs test.

In order to document differences between groups in the number of subordinate clauses, participles, connectives, discourse bracketing devices, present and past tense, the Mann-Whitney test was used (see pages 103 (difference between age-groups in the use of connectives for picture A), 104 (difference in the use of connectives used by age-groups: picture B), 108 (difference between age-groups in the use of subordinate clauses: results reported for picture A), 114 (difference between age-groups in the use of subordinate clauses used in picture B), 117 (difference between age-groups in the use of participles: both pictures added), 143 (difference between 8- and 10-year old children in the use of connectives: pictures added and pictures examined separately), 187 (difference between age-groups in the use of present tense), 191 (difference between age-groups in the use of discourse-bracketing devices: pictures examined separately)).

In order to document the different performance of the same age-group in the two pictures, the Wilcoxon matched pairs test was used (see pages 103 (the number of connectives each age-group used in the two stories: stories based on picture A versus picture B), 133 (difference in 8 year-olds' use of "and"-"and then" in the coreferential context: pictures added and pictures examined separately)).

The two tests were used because they both rely on ranking and so the percentages obtained are ranked in order of increasing size and calculations can be subsequently performed.

## **1. Qualitative Measurements**

*General Question:* What is the structure of principles underlying storytelling in Greek?

*Specific Question:* Is Cohesion or Tellability the highest principle to pursue in Greek? To put it simply, are children encouraged to write a text which presents a cohesive sequence of events or to tell an interesting story?

### **Set of Data Used:**

1. Free written narrative texts
2. Responses given by the readers and the children themselves.

The texts written by the 12 year-old children were chosen, because they were cohesive texts. The texts written by the 8- and 10- year old children were not cohesive with the result that the conflation of the two factors (cohesion and tellability) would not have helped us tackle the issue under examination, i.e. the relation between the principles of Communicative Efficiency (cohesion) and Tellability. The results of this analysis are documented in chapter 7.

The responses collected by the readers, although intuitive, were used as a means of helping us pinpoint the elements readers attend to as important when looking at a text.

## **Appendix IVa**

### **The Pictures-Used**





(4)



(5)



(6)



(7)



(8)



(9)









## **Appendix IVb**

### **The Community**



HELLENIC REPUBLIC  
 AREA: 51,200 sq.mi. 132,608 sq.km.  
 POPULATION: 10,000,000 (est. for July '84)  
 CAPITAL & LARGEST CITY: Athens (Met.)  
 (3,300,000 est'd '80)  
 GNP: \$4,290 per capita, 1982



## Notes

<sup>1</sup>Similar terminology can be found in Leech (1983) who uses the terms **interpersonal** and textual rhetoric, each consisting of a set of maxims.

<sup>2</sup>I take the term "theory" to stand for a set of propositions which explain a larger and heterogeneous range of patterns of language use with the aim to advance causal explanations that would show the interrelations of the principles involved.

<sup>3</sup>I base my account on Leech's 1983 book "Principles of Pragmatics" which I regard as offering a more coherent account of text production than the 1981 book "Style in Fiction".

<sup>4</sup>Leech does address the problem of universality with regard to the maxims constituting interpersonal logic but he does not follow the same practice with regard to the maxims constituting textual logic. This may be because there is not a lot of work done on written text production from this perspective.

<sup>5</sup>Meaning-*nn* is equivalent to the notion of intentional communication.

<sup>6</sup>The principle of Rationality must also undergo an investigation so that we reveal the reasons that make this principle adequate for explicating and evaluating all principles in a consistent and conflict-resolving way, as claimed here; for a discussion on this topic, see chapter 8 of this thesis.

7

### *Vendler's system*

| Activities                | Accomplishments    | Achievements        | States  |
|---------------------------|--------------------|---------------------|---------|
| running                   | writing a letter   | reaching a decision | knowing |
| walking                   | painting a picture | winning a race      | jumping |
| sleeping                  | running a mile     | finding an answer   | losing  |
| (after Freed, 1979, p.47) |                    |                     |         |

### *Mourelatos' system*

- 1) situations
- 1a) states
- 1b) occurrences (actions)
- 1bi) processes (activities), 1bii) events (performances)
- 1biia) developments (accomplishments),
- 1biib) punctual occurrences (achievements)

<sup>8</sup>There is, in fact, an increasing body of literature addressing this issue from a cross-cultural point of view, building on the premise that the correctness of a principle specifying a goal is not a matter of knowledge or truth but rather is

integrated with the value system of the society. Differences were, for instance, found between Greeks and Americans regarding the use of indirectness (Tannen, 1981). The values assigned to information were also found to be subject to cross-cultural variation. Contrary to Americans, in Japan, Quantity of information (Q-maxim) is looked down, especially in men. In conversation, the main responsibility lies with the listener who must know what the speaker means regardless of the actual words used. Studies of mother-child interaction have revealed patterns emphasizing nonverbal communication at an extremely early age. (Clancy (1990)). As a result of different socialization patterns, it is not surprising that clashes and misunderstandings are documented in cross-cultural encounters.

All this work documents cases of inter-systemic conflicts, i.e. cases where conflicts occur in the way in which a set of principles (politeness, informativeness etc.) is used by different cultures. In the present work, however, my focus is different; the aim is to discuss cases where conflicts occur between maxims constituting a system in one and a single culture (intra-systemic conflicts) with particular emphasis given to conflicts between maxims constituting storytelling.

<sup>9</sup>The original text is cited in the Appendix.

<sup>10</sup>"Bre" is an informal form of address.

<sup>11</sup>For an illustration of the automaticity of the way in which world knowledge influences text-interpretation, see vanDijk (1980).

<sup>12</sup>The conflicts examined here pertain to clashes between maxims constituting a specific set of principles and not to clashes between different sets of maxims, i.e. Politeness versus Clarity (Lakoff (1973)) which are to be examined in Chapter 6.

<sup>13</sup>I borrow the term from Raz (1986)

<sup>14</sup>I am concerned here with conflicts arising from the conjunction "do p or q" rather than from the disjunction "do p or anything else" in which case transitivity relations would obtain between more than two principles in conflict.

<sup>15</sup>There have been given a number of definitions of the terms "given" and "new" information. In this work, Chafe's (1980) terminology is followed which accords more with the discourse-oriented study of language. The definitions are as follows: "Given information in focus" is information which is currently in a person's focus of consciousness. "Given information out of focus" is information in the person's peripheral consciousness; it is information of which the person has a background awareness but is not being directly focused upon.

<sup>16</sup>Of course, intention to do something can be symbolized as movement towards



a goal and this would bring us to "localism". I would like to make this point clear although I prefer not to elaborate it, since this is out of the main concerns of this work. For discussion on this issue, see Miller (1985).

<sup>17</sup>In fact, the ending of just one word was missing: "dwma" instead of "dwmatio" in the first utterance.

<sup>18</sup>Tellability is a concept that Chalkians use to judge the effectiveness of language use. The term is never used in the abstract but rather in relation to specific storytelling occasions. Grounding my starting point firmly into these occasions (in this case, oral and written stories), I attempt to single out the constituent elements of this principle, the linguistic forms that people in this community regard as giving rise to a tellable text. I have to stress again that I start with and attempt to exemplify the local notion of Tellability rather than impose abstract terms already used in the literature, such as the Labovian (1967) term of "evaluation" or Tannen's (1983, 1984, 1989) term of "involvement".

According to Labov, evaluation, or the way speakers make their point, is of two types: internal and external. Internal evaluation resides in every word and is related to the way in which they portray actions, the events they chose to narrate, the words they chose. External evaluation is performed by the narrator stepping outside the events and directing the audience with comments such as "here's the best/funny/serious part". Tannen used the term 'involvement' to express "an internal, even emotional connection individuals feel which binds them to other people as well as to places, things, activities, ideas, memories, and words" (1990, p.12). The outcome of the analyses showed, however, that people in this local community regarded as tellable those storytelling occasions that contained internal evaluation, or involvement strategies. To put it more clearly, it is the way in which language is used to present experience, how one says something, rather than content, what one says, that was regarded as more significant. In this respect this work relates to Tannen's empirical finding that Greek storytelling aims at involvement, in particular "self-involvement of the speaker, interpersonal involvement between speaker and hearer, and involvement of the speaker with what is being talked about" (1990, p.11).

<sup>19</sup>I take it that one principle is logically prior to another when the latter is understood and accounted for in terms of the former and not vice versa.

<sup>20</sup>But see Givón (1987) for a reappraisal of this view.

<sup>21</sup>The notion of Foregrounding which has its roots in Russian formalism (for the role of this principle in poetry, see van Peer, 1986) is used here with a textual meaning; it refers to the way in which levels, types of information are differentiated

within a text through specific linguistic forms with the result that certain pieces of information stand out. Alternative terminology which was initially considered as appropriate such as "the Principle of Differentiation", "the Principle of Highlighting" was dropped to avoid proliferation of terms which were not expressing anything different. The term is used in a purely textual way to indicate the differentiation brought about when subordinate clauses are used in the context of a text which has only main clauses; subordinate clauses disrupt this syntactic norm and bring about certain effects that are accounted for in this chapter. In this way, foregrounding is achieved through "internal deviation", that is violation of a norm set up by the text itself (for a detailed discussion on this notion and other ways in which foregrounding may be achieved, see van Peer (1986). This differentiation of textual patterns is more explicit in poetry where according to Verdonk (1989), deviant lexical collocations when examined in the context of the poem as a whole... are foregrounded against normal usage... (p.249).

<sup>22</sup>Imposing on narrators the need to consider foregrounding would place on them too stringent a cognitive demand. It would be a mistake to infer that we postulate that for a language producer to be rational in performing a choice, he should precede it with explicit deliberation. It is possible for a language producer to use a form and yet to be totally unaware of the reasons that render the form preferable.

<sup>23</sup>According to Traugott, many of the conjunctions that make a text cohesive, eg. *but, hence, whereas, again*, originate in spatial terms and deictics. "Again" is related to "against". originally meaning "facing locally", in the context of question and answer, again(st) came to mean "(reply) again, (answer) back". At a later stage yet, "again" signals the speaker's intention to extend the discourse with some further relevant information.

<sup>24</sup>Contrary to Wolfson's (1978, 1982) results, the present tense as a marked form is not used for organizational reasons.

<sup>25</sup>A proposition is known "a priori", if its justification does not depend on experience; it is known "a posteriori" or empirically, if its justification depends on experience.



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